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CHANGES OF CLIMATE AND HISTORY

IT is not by accident that the most universal subject of conversation is the weather. The New Englander says hard things of the east wind, the Chinese patiently wonders when the first rains will fall in the spring and start the growth of the seed that he has planted, and the Arab who meets a stranger inquires where rain has fallen. So, too, the Egyptian talks of the rise of the Nile, and probably the Eskimo converses with his friends about the terrible heat when the thermometer rises above freezing for several days. All these things are merely the expression of the fact that among the phenomena of nature none affect mankind so directly and vitally as those which pertain to climate. If man is so deeply influenced by the climatic conditions which now prevail, it is manifest that any changes of climate which have taken place in the past or may take place in the future are of the highest importance. The realization of this fact has led historians, geographers, and others to discuss the question of changes of climate ever since the days of the Greeks. Plato and other writers say that formerly the climate of Greece was moister and the forests more abundant than in their day. Aristotle declares that the flood of Deukalion was due to a periodical cycle in atmospheric phenomena. He states that just as winter returns regularly each year, so great cold and heavy precipitation return in the course of long periods. In other words he announces the theory of pulsatory changes of climate. For two thousand years that theory lay in abeyance. Many people discussed the possibility of a gradual drying up of the earth, a gradual cooling off, or a gradual increase in warmth, but all the discussions were based on the idea of slow and comparatively regular changes. It was left to the present writer to propose the theory of pulsatory changes once more, quite uncon-

scious that in so doing he was following in the steps of the Greeks.¹

The modern historian realizes the importance of physical factors, especially of climate, in influencing some of the great facts of history, but he does not usually admit more than a slow and general effect as opposed to the rapid and marked effects which the adoption of the theory of pulsatory changes would naturally demand. This attitude is well illustrated in a recent article in the *Journal of Geography*, by Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri.² Speaking of the relation of climate to the people of a country, he says:

It has long been recognized that it has important effects upon the inhabitants, but also that the most important effects result only when those inhabitants have long occupied the country. Egypt affords an excellent example of the value of climatic study in this connection and also of its dangers if not used in the light of history. Here we have a hot, dry climate where the main dependence for the crops is not on the rains but on the rise of the Nile. This rise, regular as the seasons, the comparatively small change in temperature among the seasons themselves, the almost complete absence of rainfall, taken in connection with the fertility of the soil and the small number of staple crops, has produced a condition of affairs in which all that is demanded is a steady carrying out of a routine which never changes and requires rather brawn than brain. This we find admirably reflected in the character of the peasantry, now, as in antiquity, interested only in the securing of enough food to live and to marry upon. But this did not seriously modify the character of the ruling class for, from pre-dynastic times, they have always been foreigners. Accordingly, their character has always been that formed in other countries. Only one effect should be noted. Just because they did not adjust themselves to the climate, they became enervated and finally were killed off. In other words, the climate had only a negative effect on the men who have made Egyptian culture worthy of our study. And, since history means evolution, the unchanging peasantry, who show most strikingly the effect of climate, need be mentioned once only by the historian, after which their existence may be assumed for the further historical relation.

If, for the moment, it be granted that all the important contributions of Egypt to human history have been due to invaders, and that the peasantry have from time immemorial preserved exactly the same character, the historian and the geographer agree just as

¹ The first full statement of the theory appeared in *The Pulse of Asia* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907). It has since been amplified in *Palestine and its Transformation* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), and in several magazine articles, especially "The Burial of Olympia", *Geographical Journal*, XXXVI. 657-686 (1910), and "Physical Environment as a Factor in the Present Condition of Turkey", *Journal of Race Development*, I. 460-481 (1910-1911). A cognate subject is treated in an article entitled "Geographical Environment and Japanese Character", *Journal of Race Development*, II. 256-281 (1911-1912).

² A. T. Olmstead, "Climate and History", *Journal of Geography*, X. 163-168 (1912).

far as the historian goes. They part company, however, when it comes to the question of why the invaders came into Egypt and were thus given the necessary wealth, leisure, and other opportunities which enabled them to develop their talents and become great. The geographer who believes in pulsatory changes of climate can scarcely avoid the conclusion that great movements of peoples have been induced by such changes, and that these movements have given rise to periods of invasion and anarchy. Furthermore, he is led to conclude that when the stress due to unfavorable climatic conditions has been removed by reason of another change, this time in the direction of more favorable climatic conditions, prosperity and progress have been the rule. This by no means implies that all invasions and all prosperity are supposed to be due to climatic causes, but merely that climate has been one of the important factors in producing such results. I do not propose to discuss this question here, as I have already considered it in the publications referred to above, especially in the later chapters of *The Pulse of Asia* and *Palestine and its Transformation*. I wish, however, to concentrate attention upon the question which, at the present stage of investigations, is the crux of the whole matter. If Professor Olmstead is a fair representative of the younger school of modern historians, the views of that school would coincide with those of the geographers, provided there were certainty upon one point, namely, the verity of our conclusions as to climatic pulsations. After devoting some pages to a statement of reasons for not believing that such pulsations have taken place, Professor Olmstead concludes:

We have not the space to further test by historical facts the theory that the Arabian desert with its surrounding lands [was once] more occupied, more fertile, and easier of access than it is at the present day. Further examples would only prove that it was not well grounded. And this brings us to our conclusion as regards the question of the relation of climate to history. That climate, working through the ages, has a highly important effect on the permanent population of a country is admitted by every historian. That it has effects, mostly negative, on the transient population has also been seen. At present, the theory of a more immediate influence on the details of history seems to be bound up with the theory of cyclic [pulsatory] climate changes and we have seen that the facts of history tend to disprove this. Accordingly, the historian is not justified in utilizing climate for more than the study of the background of his history. For influence on particular events, there are many geographical facts of far more significance.

The question before us divides itself into two parts. In the first place, was the climate of the past, let us say at the time of Christ, different from that of the present? In the second place,

assuming that there has been a change, did it take place gradually or was it characterized by pulsations whereby certain periods were exceptionally dry while others were moist? The type of evidence to be employed is the same in both cases, and consists first of physiographic phenomena among which river terraces, lake strands, denuded mountain slopes, desiccated springs, and rivers whose salinity has increased, are of special importance. A second highly important type of evidence consists of archaeological phenomena, such as the location of ruins like those of Palmyra or Ilandarin. Here, in the past, great cities grew up in places whose supply of water is now not one-tenth large enough for the support of such a population as once existed. Still a third line of evidence is based upon plant life, forests, areas of cultivation where crops cannot now be grown, and the like. Finally, with all this must be joined direct historic evidence, such as accounts of famines, recorded facts as to the supply of water in places now dry, old roads across deserts which to-day are impassable, and a vast number of other matters which have never been properly scrutinized because historians have not investigated the subject.

In all these cases it is far easier to find and interpret evidence in reference to the first of our questions than to the second; for the discovery that regions which once were well populated are now uninhabitable is a comparatively simple matter, while only the most careful research reveals the reasons for believing that while the past as a whole was distinctly moister than the present, certain periods were notably drier. This would seem to indicate that if some new method of investigation is to be tried, the study of possible fluctuations is more important than that of possible differences between the past and the present. If the fluctuations should prove to have taken place as inferred from the other lines of evidence, there would be little question that the climate of the past, as inferred from those same lines of evidence, was in general different from that of the present. Hence in this article I wish to present a new type of evidence which seems to go far toward proving conclusively that the pulsatory theory of climatic changes is correct. By this I do not mean to imply that all the details of the climatic curves which are shortly to be presented are as yet established beyond question. I merely mean that the evidence seems to indicate that pulsations of climate lasting through periods having a length of centuries have actually taken place. This, it will be seen, is in direct opposition to the statement of Professor Olmstead. "At present", to repeat a sentence already quoted, "the theory of a more immedi-

ate influence on the details of history seems to be bound up with the theory of cyclic [pulsatory] climate changes and we have seen that the facts of history tend to disprove this."

The question cannot be settled offhand by a reference to "the facts of history". Long research in the realms of physiography, climatology, archaeology, and, as I shall shortly point out, botany, can alone determine it. In other words the problem is primarily geographical, in the modern sense of that term, and the final decision of geographers must be accepted by historians. When it comes to the study of the effect of any possible climatic changes upon the course of history, however, the case is reversed; the geographer may offer suggestions, but the final decision rests with the historian. Hence the purpose of this article is to show the grounds upon which an increasing number of geographers are becoming convinced that changes of climate have actually taken place, and then to suggest certain ways in which these changes may have been of historic importance. I realize fully that in making these suggestions a geographer is liable to error, for his view of history must of necessity be limited. Therefore in no case would I be understood as asserting categorically that such and such results have occurred because of climatic changes, but merely that certain results appear probable from the point of view of the geographer. If the changes here discussed have actually taken place, they must have had some effect upon history, and it is only by discussion of the question from both the historical and geographical sides that the truth can be learned.

Lack of space forbids any discussion of the evidence of changes of climate in Asia, and I must once more refer the reader to *The Pulse of Asia* and the other publications already named for a statement of the results of three expeditions to Asia during which about three years were spent in the Turkish Empire, Persia, India, the southern portion of Asiatic Russia, and the western part of China. These expeditions, extending over the period from 1903 to 1909, led me to formulate the theory of pulsatory climatic changes. The evidence which was first found indicated only the greatest pulsations, but as time went on the number was seen to be larger, or rather the details of minor pulsations became more clear. At best, however, the resultant climatic curve was no more than an approximation to the truth. Some definite, mathematical method of measuring rainfall or other climatic factors was necessary. In order to test the theory as widely as possible I accepted the invitation of Dr. D. T. MacDougal of the Department of Botanical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to co-operate with the Desert

Botanical Laboratory at Tucson, Arizona, in a study of the climate of the arid portions of the United States. Two seasons of field work among the dry lakes, terraced valleys, and innumerable ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, and the neighboring parts of Mexico, supplemented by a journey to southern Mexico and Yucatan, led to the conclusion that the climate of America has been subject to pulsations similar to those which appear to have taken place in Asia. I have discussed the matter in articles appearing in *Harper's Magazine* during the years 1911 and 1912, and in a series of articles in the *Geographical Journal* of London, and shall not here attempt to say more about it. The lines of evidence were similar to those followed in Asia and Greece, that is, they were primarily physiographic and archaeological, with the addition of historic evidence wherever possible. They will be fully discussed in a volume shortly to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington under the title, "The Climatic Factor".

Leaving, now, these more purely geographical lines of research, let us turn to another type of evidence which seems to add to the conclusions already reached the final touch of mathematical accuracy which alone can lead to certainty. Realizing that my work in America was liable to error because of the danger of being influenced by a preconceived theory, I made use of a method suggested by Professor A. E. Douglass of the University of Arizona.³ Professor Douglass found that the thickness of the rings of annual growth in the old trees of the forests on the plateaus of Arizona is proportional to the amount of rainfall. If the average growth in diameter of a large number of trees be plotted for year after year, the ups and downs of the curve thus formed agree in general with the ups and downs of the curve of annual rainfall plotted in the same way.

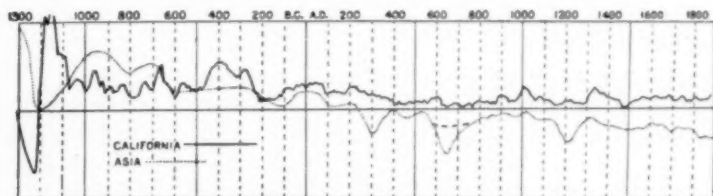
Evidently, then, the annual rings of old trees preserve a record of the rainfall in past times, and it is only necessary to read this record to answer the question of the reality of climatic pulsations extending over hundreds of years. Before great accuracy can be obtained it is necessary to eliminate the effects of variations in the growth of trees because of differences in age. Young trees grow faster than old, but there is a regular law for this, as is well known to foresters, and it is purely a matter of mathematics to apply the necessary corrections. Accidents such as fires or storms also affect the rate of growth, but, as I have shown in the articles already mentioned and in another which will soon be published in the *American Journal of Science*, these become negligible when a large

³ A. E. Douglass, "Weather Cycles in the Growth of Big Trees", *Weather Review*, XXXVII. 225-237 (1909).

number of trees from different localities are employed. Thus, after all corrections and allowances have been made, we are able to secure a curve which represents with considerable accuracy the fluctuations of climate in past times. The process by which this is obtained is purely mathematical, and no amount of theorizing on the part of the investigator can affect the results.

During the years of 1911 and 1912 I measured the rings of four hundred and fifty of the Big Trees, or *sequoia gigantea*, of California, which, fortunately for the purposes of historical research, had been cut in order to make fence posts and shingles. These trees grow in the Sierra Nevada Mountains under climatic conditions closely similar to those of the high plateaus of Arizona. The winter is snowy and rain falls during the spring until May or June, but the rest of the summer is absolutely dry. The forests need more rain than they commonly get. In years when the amount of winter snow is larger than normal, or when the storms of spring persist well into the summer, the trees grow much faster than usual. The trees which I measured ranged from 230 to 3200 years of age. Eighty began to grow more than two thousand years ago, and three were more than three thousand years of age.

From these four hundred and fifty trees I have constructed the curve shown by the solid line in the accompanying diagram. The



course of time is represented by horizontal distance, the left end indicating the date 1300 B. C., and the right end 1900 A. D. High portions of the curve denote moist conditions, which would be highly favorable in countries like Syria, Egypt, and Greece, but detrimental in such countries as Germany or England. Low places, on the contrary, indicate relative aridity, which would be disastrous in lands such as Palestine. The details of the curve will be modified somewhat when a larger body of data is available. For instance the violent zigzags of the earlier portions, where the number of trees is small, will undoubtedly be reduced. The general form of the curve, however, will in all probability remain as here indicated, although previous to about 200 B. C. the fluctuations will be less sharp and the extremes of the peaks and depressions will not rise so high nor fall so low as is here indicated.

No matter in what minor respects the curve may be changed by further investigation, one feature can scarcely be eradicated, namely the sinuosity. It appears impossible to interpret this in any way except as conclusive evidence of pulsations of climate extending over hundreds of years. Omitting the earlier and less certain parts of the curve, we see that at the time of Christ the average *sequoia* tree grew at least thirty per cent. faster than in 1500 A. D. This does not mean that the rainfall was exactly thirty per cent. greater. It may have been twice as great, but as to that we cannot yet speak with any certainty. Thus much, however, seems evident: if the huge *sequoia* trees high among the relatively moist mountains fell off thirty per cent. in their average growth in spite of their favorable position and vast root systems, smaller vegetation must have diminished to several times as great an extent. Moreover we are not dealing here with individual years, but with decades, which would appear to mean that individual years must have shown much greater extremes than those indicated in the curve. We infer then that during the last three thousand years not only has the climate in general become drier as indicated by the general trend of the curve, but that it has been characterized by pulsations lasting hundreds of years and by variations in rainfall sufficient at least to halve or double the productivity of the land.

Thus far we have been dealing with California, but our results appear to apply to Asia and Europe with equal force. For the sake of comparison I have added to the diagram a dotted line. This represents the condition of the curve of climatic pulsations in Asia so far as I had been able to obtain data up to 1910, the time of writing *Palestine and its Transformation*, from which volume (pages 327 and 403) the curve is reproduced. Since then a few further facts have been noted which would tend to modify the curve somewhat. As time goes on there can be no doubt that further modifications of considerable importance will be necessary. It must be borne in mind that this curve is a pioneer attempt at the elucidation of an extremely complex subject. At the very best it merely bears the same relation to the ultimate truth that the history of Babylonia and Assyria as written by Rawlinson bears to the history of those same countries as written in the light of the most recent excavations.

In spite, however, of the avowedly tentative nature of the Asiatic curve, it agrees to a notable degree with that of the trees of California. To be sure there are certain marked disagreements. These may be due to actual differences between the changes in California and Asia, or to an absence of data in compiling the Asiatic curve.

Among meteorologists and climatologists there is a growing conviction that a change of climate in one part of the world is synchronous with that in another. As Ward puts it in his authoritative work on *Climate*, "It is now believed that oscillations of climate are limited in time, but occur over wide areas."⁴ Therefore the presumption is that further knowledge of the climate of Asia will cause the curve for that portion of the world to be modified until it approximates to that of California. Nevertheless differences in latitude may cause a given climatic change to assume different aspects according to the zone of winds with which we are dealing; and there is some reason to think that oceanic areas are subject to changes more or less contrary to those of continents. The Californian curve comes from a small continental or interior region between 36° and 37° north of the equator. The Asiatic curve, on the other hand, is based on data from diverse continental regions located from 30° to 42° north of the equator, and is therefore more liable to error than is the other.

The degree of difficulty experienced in preparing the Asiatic curve may be judged from the fact that the line is straight between 1200 and 1000 B. C. simply because between those dates I have as yet been able to find no facts bearing directly upon the climatic conditions. Further data might have caused the curve to be sinuous in harmony with the American curve. In other cases the fact that marked evidences of aridity were noticeable at a particular time or happened to be recorded by man or nature with especial clearness may have led me to carry the Asiatic curve lower than was justifiable. For instance a marked degree of depopulation, an uncommonly low level of enclosed lakes, traditions of famine, and other evidences appear to indicate that the seventh century of our era was an exceptionally dry time, but there is absolutely no available evidence as to the exact time when the dryness culminated, nor as to how dry that particular century was as compared with others. A curve drawn as indicated by the dashes would have fitted the facts equally well. Even as the curves now stand, however, the longest continuous decline in the Californian curve culminates at the middle of the seventh century at about the time when the Asiatic curve is lowest. Another case of almost exactly the same kind is found in the thirteenth century. There are pronounced evidences of aridity in Asia at the end of the twelfth century and in the first half of the thirteenth. Therefore the curve dips very low, and the minimum point is placed during the first part of the thirteenth century. The next available evidence indicates favorable conditions in the first

⁴ R. DeC. Ward, *Climate considered especially in Relation to Man*, p. 363 (New York, 1908).

part of the fourteenth century. In the absence of any knowledge as to the latter half of the thirteenth century, the curve was originally drawn as shown in the dotted line. The Californian curve, however, fits the facts quite as well, and probably indicates the true state of affairs not only in America, but in the same latitudes in the eastern hemisphere. Similar reasoning applies to the low portion of the curve found at 300 A. D. At about that time a large number of ruins were abandoned in places which are now waterless, and other types of evidence also suggest aridity. Nevertheless it is probable that this and, to a less extent, the other main depressions of the Asiatic curve are exaggerated because special events happened to culminate at those particular times.

In spite of certain differences the high degree of agreement between these two curves from parts of the world as remote as western Asia and California is remarkable. Take the epoch centring at the time of Christ, for example, or those which centre at 1000 A. D. and 1600 A. D. The agreement is so close that it cannot be a matter of chance. This is the point which needs especial emphasis. We have here two curves based on entirely diverse kinds of evidence from parts of the world six thousand or more miles apart. One of the curves is based on lines of evidence which are at best highly fragmentary, and into which the element of personal interpretation enters largely. The other is based on a line of evidence which is absolutely continuous for two or three thousand years, and into which the element of personal judgment enters not at all. The two curves agree as to their main features, and in some cases the agreement extends to small details. The only satisfactory explanation of this result seems to be, first, that the climate of many portions of the past was different from that of the present; secondly, that climatic pulsations having a periodicity of centuries have been the rule; and thirdly, that these pulsations have been essentially synchronous in the eastern and western hemispheres.

If these conclusions be granted, it at once becomes evident that the climatic pulsations must be taken into account in the interpretation of history. How important they are, however, cannot now be determined. To the geographer and especially to one who has devoted years to this particular line of study, they probably appear more important than they really are. Therefore I speak with diffidence, and only in the hope that duly qualified historians may find the matter of sufficient interest to warrant its independent investigation on their part. I shall merely try to point out some of the ways in which climatic pulsations may have exercised a certain

amount of influence upon some of the important events of history. I shall speak chiefly of the possible results of increasing rather than of decreasing aridity, partly because they are more manifest, and partly for lack of space. I shall assume, furthermore, that even where events in Asia are under discussion the climatic curve of California, based on the exact tree measurements, represents the truth more closely than does the largely inferential Asiatic curve. I realize that the considerations which I shall present may seem highly theoretical, but in the early stages of every great scientific problem nothing is so stimulative of thought as a theory to be attacked or defended. The theory, as stated on page 251 of *Palestine and its Transformation*, is as follows: "It seems to be true, as a principle, that, in the regions occupied by the ancient empires of Eurasia and northern Africa, unfavorable changes of climate have been the cause of depopulation, war, migration, the overthrow of dynasties, and the decay of civilization; while favorable changes have made it possible for nations to expand, grow strong, and develop the arts and sciences."

The first and most obvious effects of climatic changes are economic. At the present time countries like Greece and Asia Minor suffer grievously from the failure of crops every few years. There is no reason to think that there has been any distinct change of climate during the past century, and conditions are now probably better if anything than in the early part of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless distress and famine have prevailed more than once, and have been serious contributory causes toward political discontent. If a country like Greece were fully populated about 400 B. C. at the end of two centuries of increasingly favorable climatic conditions, a change such as that which appears to have taken place during the succeeding two hundred years might not cause famines, but it would entail a constant pressure upon the means of subsistence. A highly developed people might thrive and prosper even in the face of growingly adverse conditions and might even be stimulated thereby to greater exertions. Nevertheless the constant pressure of diminishing crops would tend to drive people to emigrate and in the end it might have much to do with weakening them and preparing them for final conquest by outsiders. It would also gradually diminish their purchasing power so that trade would on the whole tend to decline or would seek new channels. The purchasing power of any nation depends ultimately upon the natural resources of the country, and in the case of practically all the nations of antiquity the resources were almost wholly agricultural. Thus a gradual diminution of the crops

would inevitably prevent the growth of trade with foreign countries, and would eventually tend to destroy it. Increasing rainfall would naturally produce the opposite results. To judge from the inscriptions and monuments, trade between Egypt and Mesopotamia was never brisker than in the seventh century before Christ when Assyria was at the height of its power. Again in the period of Rome's chief expansion, not far from the time of Christ, caravan traffic seems to have been carried on in the dry parts of Asia with a vigor far in excess of that which prevailed a few hundred years later. Other conditions may have had much to do with this, but a long succession of good crops could scarcely fail to produce a stimulating effect.

Another result of changes in rainfall and hence in agricultural prosperity would be the effect on the relation of the farming population to the government. If the scale of taxation were based on a period of prosperity, a change to worse conditions would inevitably cause friction. The governors would insist upon the payment of as heavy taxes as formerly; the farmers would declare themselves unable to pay so much. Then, as has happened frequently in Turkey during recent periods of drought, the officials and their minions would make attempts to collect what they considered their due, and would employ force and extortion. Such practices would have the effect which we constantly see at the present time among the Kurds and Armenians. Those parts of the population which did not belong to the governing class would be embittered, and would be ready to listen to anyone who promised them better conditions. It seems probable that many civil commotions and many attempts of usurpers to gain dominion may have been rendered possible by the discontent into which prolonged periods of poor crops have thrown the populace. Here, as in so many cases, physical conditions alone might have little effect, but when combined with the necessary human quality, such as ambition on the part of some petty sovereign, they may have large results. If the people were thoroughly contented, the ambitions of the upstart might never have the opportunity to come to fruition.

Discontent due to prolonged poor crops tends to make people unstable, not only politically but in other ways. Religious bitterness is almost sure to increase under such conditions. A portion of the community attributes its poverty to the fact that its own gods are not so strong as other gods, or that there is something wrong with the present form of religion. The rest of the community is inclined to attribute its distress to the wickedness of its neighbors who decry the old religion; and thus bitterness and persecution are apt to be

engendered. Those who become discontented with the old religion are more than usually ready to accept any new idea which some religious enthusiast may propose. This seems to have been the case when Mohammed came upon the scene of action after the prolonged period of increasing aridity which culminated with a sudden access of dryness in the first half of the seventh century. Without the genius of Mohammed that long period of adversity might have come to an end without any serious upsetting of the old conditions; but on the other hand, without the discontent and unrest fostered by years of distress Mohammed might have appealed in vain, for he would have had to speak to men who did not desire change instead of to those who ardently longed for it.

Thus far we have spoken of internal conditions which would make for the downfall of nations under growingly adverse physical conditions. External conditions would be equally unfavorable. When discord arises between nations it is far more likely to lead to war if the people of one and still more of both countries are discontented. And more than this, foreign invasion may often arise simply because the rulers feel that the best way to avoid trouble at home is to lead their discontented subjects against an enemy. In the case of nomadic tribes such as those of the vast regions of central Asia a period of prolonged aridity brings many of them face to face with the alternative of absolute starvation or migration. There is no question as to which will be chosen by a people who are constantly in motion. When they wander beyond their own territories into those of their neighbors, where also distress probably prevails even if not to so great a degree, fighting inevitably ensues. There is not grass and water enough for all, and someone must move on. Each onward movement brings the migrating bands into conflict with new tribes, and a movement once started may persist for a generation or two, and may be felt across a continent, thousands of miles from the home of the tribe which first moved. Such seems to have been the genesis of many of the great migrations which finally overwhelmed both Greece and Rome. Possibly and indeed probably a certain number of migrations of this sort might have occurred had there been no changes of climate, for the mere pressure of increasing population would sometimes start them, but that they would have been so severe or prolonged as they were seems hardly probable. A steady decline in the areas available for pasturage and in the amount of grass even in the areas where flocks could still be supported must have been a terrible incentive to migration, especially when it lasted five or six centuries, from the time of Christ to that

of Mohammed. In the diagram, to be sure, the decrease in rainfall does not appear to have been so great as in the period from 400 to 200 B. C., but this is largely due to the relatively small number of trees upon which the curve of the earlier period is based, and to the consequent exaggeration of that portion.

At a later time two other events similar to the great barbarian invasions took place, although their duration was by no means so prolonged. In these, according to available evidence, the elements of human ambition and human greatness appear to have figured more prominently than in the earlier barbarian migrations. From about 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. the climate of central Asia and of the rest of the world in the same latitude seems to have grown steadily drier. Once again distress and discontent must have reigned among the tents of Central Asia. Here, as in the days of Mohammed, no great concerted movement might have arisen, had it not been for the ambitions of one man. Genghis Khan may have been no more ambitious and no abler than other gifted men of his race, but he happened to live at a time when his people had been brought by nature to a condition of discontent favorable to his aspirations. Therefore, it would seem, he was able in a few years to arouse all the tribes of the steppes and deserts, and sweep over Asia with an almost unparalleled devastation. A century and a half later, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, another ambitious Asiatic, Timour the Lame, arose, and emulated Genghis Khan. In Timour's case, also, physical conditions seem to have favored his projects, for after half a century of greatly improved conditions, a rather rapid decrease in rainfall took place just at the time when he began his conquests. How much this had to do with the matter I do not attempt to determine, but it should at least be carefully considered before any conclusions are drawn as to Timour and his conquests. Not much later, and in this same period of increasing aridity, the Turks advanced from their dry place of sojourn in the arid centre of Asia Minor and overwhelmed the last shattered remnants of the Byzantine Empire.

The portion of the history of the Roman Empire which centres around the Augustan Age stands in marked contrast to the periods which we have just been discussing. The Californian curve indicates a period of favorable climatic conditions from about 100 B. C. to 75 A. D. Even the low point at the birth of Christ is high compared with the centuries which precede and follow this period of prosperity. During these two hundred years the wars of Rome were very different in character from those which prevailed both before

and after. No great rivals like Carthage threatened the very existence of Rome; nor did rude barbarians like the Goths of later days pour in across her frontiers. She fought to extend her boundaries, her ambitious citizens engaged in battle with one another for the sake of personal ambition, and she quarrelled somewhat with Parthia, a state which met her on terms almost of equality so far as the relative positions of the two were concerned in Asia. In a word the wars of this period were of the kind that are characteristic of prosperity, and were not at all of the devastating kind which arise when the inhabitants of semi-arid regions migrate or plunder because of the impossibility of living at home. Similar conditions prevailed six or seven hundred years earlier when Assyria was at the height of her power and fought to expand her boundaries. In her case, however, the era of prosperity and freedom from harassing invasions was by no means so long as in that of Rome.

It is not possible to go through the course of history and pick out all the cases where prosperity due to favorable climatic conditions may have influenced the political fortunes of a nation, but it would be a most profitable exercise. Often, unquestionably, the influence of favorable climatic environment may have been completely nullified by political causes, or by personal ambitions, or other purely historical considerations, such as the discovery of a new art like the manufacture of iron, or of a new country such as America. Therefore, even if the theory here set forth contains large elements of truth, it is not to be expected that climatic pulsations should invariably be accompanied by the political and social results which would be expected if these physical matters were the only ones concerned in history. Nevertheless it is probable that their influence can be traced in scores of places where hitherto it has been unsuspected.

From great wars and movements of the nations let us turn back to internal affairs, and see how a change of climate in the direction of aridity would affect the composition of a race in its own home. The chief effects would come through disease. Probably insidious diseases such as malaria, consumption, neurasthenia, and the like are the most important sifters of the wheat from the chaff in the physical make-up of a nation, but great epidemics are much more startling and more easily studied. In the case of the plague there is possibly some connection between the times of its occurrence and the times of increasing aridity. As yet the question has never been worked out, and I mention the matter here not as something in regard to which we have any certain knowledge, but merely as an illustration of the interesting type of problems which confront the stu-

dent who chooses to investigate the relation of human history to changes in man's physical surroundings.

It is sufficient here to call attention to the two worst instances of plague that have ever been recorded in history. The first is defined by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as "the great cycle of pestilence, accompanied by extraordinary natural phenomena, which lasted fifty years [542-592 A. D.], and is described with a singular misunderstanding of medical terms by Gibbon in his forty-third chapter". A reference to the Californian curve shows that this occurred near the end of the long and terrible period of increasing desiccation which began, mildly no doubt, in the first century after Christ, and which during its long centuries may possibly have played so large a part in driving the barbarians into Europe, and in preparing the way for the Prophet of Islam. The seventh century, as well as the latter half of the sixth, was also a time of severe plagues, and this, to judge from our curve, appears to have been the driest and hence most famine-stricken period during three thousand years. After this, when the climate ceased to deteriorate and began to improve, the plague seems to have been somewhat assuaged.

The next of the really terrible plagues was that known as the Black Death. This reached southern Europe in 1346 or 1347 A. D., after having scourged Asia for an unknown period. Even in these modern days of rapid travel an appreciable number of years elapse before the plague can travel across a continent, and in earlier days when communication was far slower, the movement must have been much less rapid. For instance, in 1798 plague prevailed in Georgia and the Caucasus, where it continued to be more or less prevalent until 1819 or later. Meanwhile it spread to Baghdad in 1801, to Armenia and Constantinople in 1802, to Astrakhan in 1805 or thereabout, to Smyrna and Constantinople once more in 1808 and 1809, to Bucharest by land and Malta by sea in 1813, and finally to Dalmatia and the northeastern coast of Italy in 1815. If the spread of this plague from the eastern end of the Black Sea to the northern end of the Adriatic required seventeen years, during a period of relatively active communication, the spread of an earlier plague across the unfrequented deserts of Asia and across two or three times as great a distance would presumably require half a century. Therefore we seem to be justified in framing the working hypothesis that the Black Death may have originated during the famines which in some of the drier parts of Asia must have accompanied the period of aridity lasting from 1100 A. D. to the end of the thirteenth century. In the curve derived from the trees of California it will be

seen that the dry period does not end until 1300. From that time until the appearance of the plague in southern Europe is only forty-six years.

The plague is not the only disease which may have been influenced by changes of climate. Malaria, although far less fatal than the plague, is far more dangerous in its ultimate effects. The plague passes over the land and is gone; the dead are dead, and the living have suffered no serious injury. Malaria, on the contrary, hangs on year after year, not killing its victims, but sapping their energy and vitality. The presence and the abundance of malaria are closely associated with climate and topography. Without entering into any discussion of the origin of malaria, let me point out how a change toward aridity in a country like Greece and, to a less extent, Italy, would probably foster the disease.

Malaria is pre-eminently a disease of tropical and subtropical countries whose climate is characterized by alternate wet and dry seasons. Except in the perennially moist portions of the tropics, the streams of such regions are subject to seasonal floods which spread over wide areas for a short period and then disappear, leaving innumerable stagnant pools and swamps, ideal breeding places for the anopheles mosquito. Permanent bodies of water usually contain fish which eat the mosquito larvae and reduce their numbers, or else the water moves sufficiently to carry away most of the eggs that are laid in it. When the climate of a subtropical country becomes drier, the conditions which favor the mosquito are intensified. This comes primarily from the death of vegetation upon the mountains. The scarcity of vegetation allows the soil which had formerly been held in place by roots and by the cover of dead leaves to be washed rapidly away. The streams are thereby overloaded and begin to fill their valleys with sand and gravel, while the flowing water is forced to wander hither and thither over broad flood plains in innumerable channels, which form pools when the floods are assuaged, or else the water loses itself in marginal swamps. The streams also become intermittent and no longer contain large quantities of fish. Thus everything co-operates to reduce the number of streams which flow steadily throughout the year and to increase the number of bodies of stagnant water in which the mosquitoes may live. This in itself may produce most widespread effects. How great they are may be judged from the success of the United States government in eradicating malaria at Panama by the opposite process of reducing the number of places where mosquitoes can breed.

At the present time malaria is endemic in Greece and Rome. That is, it is always there, and is looked upon as one of the necessary diseases of childhood, much as we look upon the measles. Sir Ronald Ross of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine is responsible for the statement that nearly half the people of Greece have suffered genuine injury from malaria, and in Italy the case is scarcely better. Up to the age of puberty children are attacked by it every autumn. They grow weak and sallow, their spleens are permanently enlarged, and their vitality is lowered for life. No one who has suffered from malaria will question the severity of its results and the length of time which elapses before they are eradicated even in the case of adults. In spite of quinine, which has come to our aid in modern days, it is one of the most insidious of diseases. Every traveller who has seen much of the Orient knows how the sufferers from malaria lie and groan for days, and later have no energy for months, but go languidly to the necessary tasks, and as soon as possible sit down to rest with open, stupid mouths. Physicians agree that it is impossible to expect much initiative or energy from a nation in which for centuries almost half of every generation has been devitalized by this baneful disease.

From a painstaking study of classical authors Mr. W. H. S. Jones has concluded that up to about 400 B. C. in Greece and 200 B. C. in Rome, malaria was almost unknown.⁵ Then it appeared, and during the succeeding century or two became common. At first it attacked adults, which shows that it was a relatively new disease, which was still epidemic and not endemic, or else, we would add, that Greece was on the very border of its habitat. Later it became permanently located in the respective countries and attacked chiefly children, the older people having become immune after suffering in childhood. It is noticeable that the introduction of malaria coincides with the beginning of the weakening of Greece and Rome, and the time when it became endemic, in Greece at least, is synchronous with the epoch when the lustre of the ancient names became irretrievably dimmed.

Ross and Jones are of the opinion that, along with various other factors, malaria was one of the important causes of the fall of Greece and Rome. The growing effeminacy and lightness of the Greeks and the brutality of the Romans, are just the effects which they think would be produced upon people of the respective temperaments of the two races. The case is so strong that one can scarcely resist the conclusion that this pathological factor may have

⁵ W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria: a Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, England, 1907).

played an important part in the psychological changes which appear to have accompanied the decline of civilization and of population in both Greece and Rome. In the present state of knowledge it would be rash to assert that the increase in the amount and severity of malaria was due to climatic changes. Other influences, such as contact with Egypt and the introduction of slaves, may have been equally effective. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the spread of the disease in both Greece and Rome seems to have proceeded most rapidly during and after the time when a change of climate appears to have rendered the topography of the valleys and the behavior of the streams more favorable than hitherto to the propagation of the anopheles mosquito.

In conclusion let me call attention to one more way in which the change from relatively moist, stormy, cool conditions to those of aridity may have affected the Greek, Roman, and other races. In the opinion of many scholars one of the most important factors in the greatness of these powers was the presence of a race of northern invaders. Take the case of Greece. These northern Achaeans came into the country about 1200 B. C. and their coming may have had some connection with the dry period of which we find evidence both in America and Asia. After their arrival the climate on the whole, although with some fluctuations, appears to have become more propitious, so far as our meagre data afford any indications. Up to the middle of the third century it continued to be favorable. Then it became more arid. It is well known that races are very sensitive to climatic environment. The negro would apparently die out in the northern United States were he not replenished from the South. The Scandinavian does not seem to prosper greatly in the dry, sunny portions of the United States; he is there subject to diseases of the skin and nerves which appear seriously to deplete his numbers in a few generations; whereas in the rainy northwest, which resembles his native habitat, he thrives greatly both in body and estate. It may have been the same with the northern invaders in Greece. So long as the climate was propitious they flourished and lent strength to the country. Then, when conditions became less favorable, the unseen ravages of malaria and other diseases may have attacked them with especial severity, so that in the course of centuries they gradually disappeared, thus weakening the Greek people to so great a degree that there has been no recovery.

It would be possible to go on with other and equally important ways in which changes of climate may perhaps have co-operated with other factors in causing the decline of nations, or in stimulating

them at times when the changes were favorable. We must leave the matter here, however, with the hope that it may be investigated more thoroughly by historians, who alone possess the necessary information to carry the matter to its full conclusion. Enough has been said to show, in the first place, that the theory of pulsatory changes of climate appears to be firmly grounded. The conclusions here presented as to the dates and degree of changes may be modified, but the general conclusion does not seem likely to be upset. In the second place we have shown that there are many and important ways in which it is possible that climatic pulsations, directly or indirectly, may have modified the course of history. Only when their true effect is thoroughly understood shall we be sure that we are rightly estimating the importance of the other factors with which they combine to produce the complex results of history.

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.

MERCANTILISM AND ROME'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE territorial expansion of the Roman Republic has been explained in various ways by the historians of modern times, the explanations usually bearing the tone of the age in which they originate. In conformity to the historical tendencies of the last half-century there has been, since the appearance of Mommsen's history, an ever-increasing emphasis upon economic factors which has reached its climax in the widely read work of Ferrero. These new theories¹ have not grown directly out of a solid body of facts furnished by original ancient sources, though exploiting of course all possible economic data found in classical authorities. They have rather sprung from a consideration of present-day political movements. When critics have objected that modern industrialism has created so many new factors in international politics that it is wholly unsafe to draw *a priori* inferences regarding the ancient situation from modern conditions, the writer of the economic school has been prone to fall back upon seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mercantilism for his parallels. In those centuries, he will say, we find a civilization which was not materially unlike that of Rome in her best days, and he will insist that, even though no publicist existed to write them down for the enlightenment of posterity, he finds certain political practices in the Roman Republic which imply a line of reasoning not unlike that of Davenant and Sir Josiah Child.

Now it would be interesting to compare the economic and political conditions of the Ciceronian period with those of the aggressive European nations of the seventeenth century in an effort to learn whether the causes which led to modern mercantilism were actually in force in Rome. This has not been done, and before it can be done we must confine ourselves more patiently to sifting and comprehending the facts that can be obtained bearing upon the premises of the problem. For this reason I here propose the simple task of examining the ancient references upon which a sort of loose mercantile theory has been erected, and of reviewing the significant facts that we have regarding the extent of Rome's foreign commerce and business during the republic, attempting to determine from this

¹ A typical instance is Mahaffy's judgment: "It was of course the commercial monopolist, and not old Cato and his figs who destroyed Carthage." For the commonly accepted point of view, see Mommsen, *Roman History* (Eng. transl., 1900), III, 238, 274, 295, 415, 421; Colin, *Rome et la Grèce*, *passim*; Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, I, 20 ff. and 38; Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, II, 156-157; Speck, *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, *passim*.

investigation when and to what degree commercialism and capitalism became the mainsprings of territorial expansion.

In the first place, we may note that the reasons for assuming an extensive Roman maritime commerce during the early republic do not bear examination. They are usually based upon Livy's statement that in the seventh century B. C. a maritime colony was planted at Ostia to serve as a Roman port, and upon inferences drawn from Rome's early commercial treaties with Carthage. The historian should have been warned by the nature of Ostia's position, its government, and its cults that it could not have been as old as Livy would have it; as a matter of fact, the excavator² is proving that its earliest remains do not date before the third century B. C. Now we know that the Tiber does and did so load its lower course with silt that transmarine merchandise bound for Rome had to be transferred from the larger ships into barges or warehouses at the mouth of the river and for this a well-equipped harbor was necessary. The establishment of a late date for the Ostian port, therefore, compels us to revise our conception of Rome's shipping.

The usual inferences drawn from the Carthaginian treaties³ also need revision. The date and substance of the first treaty are still under dispute, but the second, dating from the latter part of the fourth century B. C., can safely be used. It reads as follows:

There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and township of Utica, on these terms: The Romans shall not maraud, nor traffic, nor found a city east of the Fair Promontory [twenty miles north of Carthage], Mastia, Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to Rome, they may keep the prisoners and the goods, but shall deliver up the town. . . .

In Sardinia and Libya no Roman shall traffic nor found a city; he shall do no more than take in provisions and refit his ship. If a storm drive him upon those coasts, he shall depart within five days.

In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and in Carthage he may transact business and sell whatsoever it is lawful for a citizen to do. In like manner also may a Carthaginian at Rome.

Is it not apparent that the treaty is one-sided, that it secures full privileges for the Punic trader while limiting the Roman, that, in other words, it was drawn up by Carthage, an old trading state, to her own advantage and accepted by the then insignificant Roman

² Taylor, *Cults of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, vol. XI.), introductory chapter.

³ Polybius, III. 22-24. Polybius dates the first treaty at 509, but most historians place it in the fourth century. The second one (III. 24) is probably the one which Diodorus places at 348 B. C. I use Shuckburgh's translation (London, 1889).

state because the latter had little concern in foreign trade? It will not do to object that the very limitations imposed upon the Romans imply that there is Roman trade to limit, for later history shows that the doctrine of *mare clausum* is Carthaginian and not Roman, and Carthage is here applying it against all future contingencies. In short, the treaty should be used as a Punic not a Roman document, even as Penn's treaty with the Indians may be used as evidence for William Penn's theories of human rights but not for those of the Indians. The Carthaginian treaties therefore do not prove the existence of a Roman commerce. They disprove it rather, since it is not reasonable to suppose that the imperious Romans would have signed away an equity in anything they really cared for. We have not so learned Rome! In this connection it will be remembered that Rome showed herself similarly negligent⁴ of trading advantages by promising Tarentum not to sail any Roman ships as far as the Tarentine Gulf.

If further evidence of the fact that the early Romans avoided the seas were needed, there is the additional testimony of archaeology. It has been found, for example, that although the early tombs of the Etruscan towns nearby are store chambers of Oriental and Egyptian wares, Roman tombs⁵ of the same period show no such evidences of extensive trading. The foreign articles found in these Roman tombs were brought by Sicilian and Massaliot passers-by. And this evidence agrees with the fact⁶ so often pointed out that none of the technical naval terms employed by the Romans except those relating to the simplest parts of a small craft are of Latin extraction. They have all been borrowed from the Doric Greek and were picked up from the vocabulary of Sicilian merchants. Apparently the passages in later Roman historians which refer to an early seaport at Ostia and to an extensive commerce are to be attributed to patriotic megalomaniacs who represented the state and pomp of Romulus and King Marcius in terms more appropriate to Augustus's day. Even Ostia remained only a small village throughout the republic. Not till 42 A. D. was the sand-bar in front of the Tiber's mouth dredged and jetties built so that laden seafaring vessels could anchor in still water. In the meantime the most serviceable port of Rome was Puteoli, 150 miles away. Does this imply that shippers had a strong lobby in the Roman senate?

Let us now examine a number of political measures adopted during the last two centuries of the republic which have frequently

⁴ The treaty with Tarentum apparently dates from the latter half of the fourth century B. C.

⁵ *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. XV. (1905).

⁶ Saalfeld, *Italograeca*.

been interpreted as implying the existence of a mercantile policy in the Roman senate, for it is largely upon these that historians have relied in blaming commercialism for deeds like the subjection of Greece, the destruction of Corinth, and the annexation of Carthage.

1. The senate concluded a treaty⁷ with the Aetolians after their subjection in 189 in which the stipulation was made that Romans and Italians should have free entry at the port of Ambracia. It is usual to infer from this sole instance that the senate regularly included a clause in its treaties with subject allies requiring exemption from port dues in order to gain advantages for Roman trade. There are however several specific facts militating against this generalization and none, to my knowledge, favoring it. There are in existence several treaties, including the very important ones with Carthage (201 B. C.), Philip (196 B. C.), and Antiochus (189 B. C.), none of which contain this clause. Egypt quite certainly did not grant any such privilege, for the Ptolemaic system of monopolies would preclude such a practice. The treaty with the Termessians,⁸ 71 B. C., which explicitly grants transit to tax collectors, says nothing of others; and from a passage in Cicero⁹ it is certain that not even the governor of Sicily enjoyed the freedom of the Sicilian port either in Roman cities or in allied towns like Messina and Halaesa. It is safe to say, therefore, that the early treaty with Ambracia contained an exceptional rather than a normal stipulation. Perhaps it was inserted in this particular case to aid the eastern communications of the Latin colony of Brundisium. But even granting that such a stipulation may have been inserted in several other treaties—which one would scarcely deny—it is difficult to understand how it would aid Roman commerce to any appreciable extent, since it would grant the same privileges to the traders of a score of other Italian towns, partly Latin, partly Greek.

2. In Cicero¹⁰ we hear of another peculiar measure which has also been used in support of the view that the senate was swayed by a commercial policy. Some time before 130 B. C. Rome seems to have specified in her dealing with a Transalpine tribe that the latter should refrain from the cultivation of wine and oil. The younger Africanus is represented as saying that the purpose of this measure was to aid the Roman fruit-grower. Modern writers¹¹ have added

⁷ Livy, XXXVIII. 44. The phrase *socii nominis Latini* of course includes all Italian allies (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 661). *Ac* is understood. The inferences usually drawn from this passage are found in Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 691.

⁸ Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 94.

⁹ Cicero, *Verr.*, II. 185.

¹⁰ *De Rep.*, III. 16.

¹¹ Mommsen's view of this passage, expressed in *Roman History*, III. 415, is usually adopted, but Polybius, XXXIII. 11, says that the Gauls gave their hostages

that it would also aid the Roman carrier. Now, before 130, a Roman army had fought battles in Transalpine Gaul only once and that was at the request of Rome's most loyal ally, Marseilles. When the war had been successfully ended and a treaty signed—the terms of which were naturally dictated by Marseilles—the Romans withdrew. Marseilles was a wine-growing state, and if a market for wine was created in Gaul, she naturally profitted. A copy of the treaty was of course carried to Rome, since her legions had secured the victory, and its purpose may well have been misunderstood by later Romans, but we need not doubt that Marseilles and the Gauls were the real contracting parties. Had the Romans intended to create a market for their own produce by legislation, why did they never pass measures affecting Spain, Greece, Africa, and Asia, which were actual rivals in such products?

3. The clause¹² in the Macedonian constitutions of 167 forbidding the importation of salt and the exportation of timber has also no reference to Roman commerce. We know from several sources¹³ that the Macedonian kings had regularly supported a timber monopoly, forbidding all exportation without special consent. Apparently the chief forests, like the mines, were crown lands. Now, when Rome fell heir to these royal forests and mines in 167, the senate was not at once ready to decide what final disposition to make of them. It hesitated to take full possession and place state contractors in charge, since their presence, as a visible indication of overlordship, would cause undue trouble.¹⁴ It therefore permitted the Macedonian contractors to work the iron and copper mines at half the former revenue, closed the other mines for the time being, and simply—also for the time being—re-enacted the old royal prohibition on the exportation of timber. In 158, it sent state contractors to open and work the closed mines, and probably at the same time leased the royal timber lands. These lands may well be

to Marseilles, not to Rome. Speck (*Handelsgeschichte*) enumerates similar prohibitions that are mentioned in the late imperial codices, but they cannot be used as evidence for the republic. Neither should he use the testimony of the Plautine comedy which is translated from the Greek. Rome's temporary prohibition of interstate trade in Macedonia and Achaëa was imposed in order to break up political unity. As soon as this purpose was accomplished the prohibition was withdrawn. This old practice never had an economic purpose.

¹² Livy, XLV. 29. Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, III. 181, says: "Der Sinn dieser Bestimmung ist unklar." Heitland, II. 120, "Perhaps it in some way favoured operations of Roman capitalists." Speck has no doubts about the purpose of the prohibition, vol. III., pt. 2, p. 349.

¹³ Diodorus, XX. 46; Andocides, *Return*, 11.

¹⁴ This is the meaning of Livy's original, which he, in the spirit of his own time, puts thus (XLV. 18): "Ubi publicanus esset, ibi . . . libertatem sociis nullam esse."

the *agri regii* mentioned as a part of Rome's property by Cicero¹⁵ in 63. The provision against the importation of salt can, in the light of this, only mean that the senate found a royal monopoly of salt also, and, in behalf of the Macedonian state treasuries, re-established the monopoly and gave it over to the new states. The senate then protected its gift by continuing the stipulation against imports. To be sure, we have no direct reference to a previous monopoly in salt in Macedonia, but the assumption that there was one seems justifiable, since we know that all the other Hellenic powers¹⁶ which succeeded Alexander established such monopolies.

4. There is one more regulation which bears, in the view of some authorities, the earmarks of mercantilism. From the fact that Rhodes asked the senate's permission to buy grain in Sicily, we are probably safe in drawing the inference that the senate somehow controlled the Sicilian grain market. Was this supervision undertaken so as to control the import that might flood the markets needed by Roman landlords, or was it undertaken in order to secure shipping for Roman merchants? Both suggestions have been made, but neither is in accord with the senatorial policy of this time. The real purpose of this supervision was political, not commercial, and is best illustrated by Hellenic precedents. When we remember that Rome, when hard pressed for food during the Hannibalic war, was compelled to ask Ptolemy's permission before corn could be bought in Egypt, we can understand where the senate found its precedent and why it adopted the regulation. Ptolemy¹⁷ had accumulated great stores of corn from his tribute and was therefore able by controlling the Egyptian markets not only to secure a market for the royal stores but also to gain a certain amount of political prestige through his power to aid friends and injure enemies. From an inscription we may infer that the Seleucids in Syria pursued the same policy, and we have recently learned that the little republic of Samos bought for public use the semi-public temple-tithes of their island. Of all these practices the senate doubtless had heard, and of others besides concerning which we now know nothing. It could see that a real political power lay in so controlling the corn market that the purchaser must ask the sovereign's permission to buy. It could see that corn production was dwindling in Italy and that the state might be made helpless in times of war unless, like the eastern monarchs, it could control a surplus. In the East the control had

¹⁵ *Leg. Agr.*, I. 5.

¹⁶ See Rostowzew, "Staatspacht", *Philologus*, Suppl. 9, p. 411.

¹⁷ On Egypt see Rostowzew in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallex.*, s. v. "Frumentum", VII. 139; on Syria, Köhler, *Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1898, p. 841. The Samian decree is discussed by Wilamowitz in *Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1904, p. 917.

been established partly for the personal profit of the king; when the practice was adopted at Rome, it served a political purpose only, for the state never attempted to sell its grain at a profit.

The tendency to find in this corn regulation a device of the senatorial landlords to protect their own grain market seems to rest upon Mommsen's version of the history of Roman agriculture.¹⁸ It was Mommsen's contention that the influx of cheap slave-raised corn from Sicily after the acquisition of that province ruined the market for the Latin farmer and forced him to abandon grain-raising and turn to wine and oil culture and grazing. It is true of course that the change in the character of agriculture began to be noticeable soon after the acquisition of the first provinces, but if we follow Mommsen's *propter hoc* literally we shall fail to grasp the real meaning of the change. The fact is that wheat was not and never will be economically the best crop for Latium. Before Rome had become well connected by commerce with foreign parts, it was naturally dependent upon Latian produce. Its great need was wheat of course, and the urban population had to pay the price that would induce cultivation of this cereal. But the land was really better adapted to other things. The vine would thrive excellently in the rich volcanic soil of the Alban hills and on the lower slopes of the Sabine mountains, while the olive could grow where it was too dry for the vine. In favorable localities these crops were sure to displace wheat as soon as the city was ready for a more luxurious diet and the need for wheat could be satisfied from elsewhere. Grazing, similarly, was bound to displace wheat-raising upon the plains. The Latian plain is a gently rolling country with a subsoil of tufa. This tufa does not erode readily enough to make a thick soil, so that when the sod is stripped for agriculture the top soil washes off in the winter rains at a more rapid rate than the tufa beneath will break up. Sod alone can stem this erosion. Hence the land will preserve its value when used as grazing ground, whereas it will not when used for agriculture. But even in those spots where the land is level enough to prevent this erosion, there is a dearth of rain after the middle of June, and the nonconformity of the uneven volcanic plain to the spring-bearing hills beyond makes irrigation impracticable. At best therefore the soil will yield the farmer only the moderate crop that can grow in the short spring season. The grazer, however, is not reduced to the profits of so short a season. For eight months grass will grow for his flocks, and during the dry season he can find cheap mountain pastures in the Sabine hills near-by. We do not believe therefore that the peasant was driven to the wall because

¹⁸ Mommsen, *Roman History* (Eng. transl.), III. 79.

the senate flooded the market with its Sicilian tithe-corn. Rather, when ships could bring to the Roman grain market corn from land adapted to its raising, the Roman peasant was released, as it were, from an ever-deteriorating corn-culture and could then specialize upon the products for which his soil was more fitted. To be sure, the change probably caught some conservative farmers off their guard, and it unfortunately worked for the plantation system to the detriment of intensive farming, but the same results would eventually have been effected by the freer commerce of the growing state even if the senate had not secured its annual 750,000 bushels of tithe-corn for the home market.

If we thus grasp the economic situation of Latium we shall not find it difficult to understand the Sicilian corn regulation. In deciding to control Sicilian corn, the landlord senators were neither generously benefitting the populace to the ruining of their own market, nor were they diabolically devising some scheme for getting rid of the Sicilian grain or for enriching Roman shippers. They adopted the Ptolemaic policy on purely political grounds and they could do so without jeopardizing Roman interests, for they had already discovered profitable substitutes for their own corn crops.

We have now reviewed all the evidence that can be cited in favor of commercial influences in republican politics. In the several treaties of the early part of the second century we find that there is no special privilege for the Roman trader. The treaty with Antiochus safeguards the commercial privileges of the Rhodians but asks nothing more. In 167 the royal monopoly of salt is confirmed to the Macedonian republics. In 154 Marseilles was able by the aid of Roman support to free her wine market from the competition of a hostile Gallic tribe. Rome guaranteed the strength of the treaty by her signature, but the wording of it was dictated by the Greek city. The Aetolian treaty is the only one in which special commercial privileges were exacted, and these were accorded to the numerous Italian rivals of Rome as fully as to the Roman traders. On the other hand, the Termessian treaty and the Sicilian regulations mentioned by Cicero sustain the view that Rome seldom asked subject-allies for the freedom of the port in behalf of her merchants.

Supporting this positive evidence, there is the solid authority of the republic's failure to adopt a number of measures that might effectively have aided her merchants if she had desired to favor them. We hear of no *mare clausum* as in the treaties exacted by Carthage, no export and import prohibitions regarding Italy as in the occasional enactments of Athens, no differential tariffs such as appear during the empire, no creation of new commercial monopolies

such as were practised in the Hellenic world, no direct encouragement of harbor improvements by subsidies and insurances such as the emperor Claudius later introduced. In view of these facts the historian can hardly continue to hand on the conventional statements that the commercial lobby of Rome directed the foreign policies of the senate in the second century B. C., much less that it secured the destruction of Corinth and Carthage.

When Carthage fell no Roman harbor was provided in Africa. Utica, a free city, inherited Carthage's commerce, and even handled the produce of the Italian farmers who settled in Africa. When Corinth was destroyed, the Delian harbor profited to be sure, but, as we shall presently see, Delos was a port already filled with Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, and South-Italian merchants, and these enjoyed the full privileges of the port as much as did the Romans. Caesar was the first Roman statesman who formed comprehensive plans to further Roman commerce; but, as he fell before these plans could be executed, the task had to await the patronage of Claudius. Then first can one speak of state encouragement of commerce at Rome.

The supposed mercantilism of the last two centuries of the republic thus disappears under examination. Apparently the state was not greatly interested in foreign trade. Can we determine the extent and importance of this trade? There is no ancient estimate now in existence, and yet we are not left wholly to conjecture. The best indications are to be found in the recently excavated inscriptions of the famous island-city of Delos. Since the city was never rebuilt after its destruction by Mithradates in 88, its numerous inscriptions have lain undisturbed in the ruins until the present day; and since Strabo informs us that it was the centre of the Roman foreign trade during the republic, we may in some measure restore the history of that commerce from these inscriptions.

Now, these inscriptions¹⁹ at once prove that the Romans were late comers at Delos, that in fact they were not at all a vital element in the Aegean trade during the days when the Roman state was spreading its political influence through the East. During that period the mercantile associations of the Orient predominate at Delos.

¹⁹ These inscriptions are now being published by French scholars in vol. XI. of *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Meanwhile one must consult the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and the current numbers of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. See also article on Delos in Pauly-Wissowa, and Homolle, "Les Romains à Delos", *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VIII. 75-158 (1884). Homolle has placed the immigration of Roman merchants too early. He has not given due weight to the fact that the earliest Roman names are those of officials connected with navies and armies, and that the other western names of early date are not Roman but South-Italian. Furthermore, he dates several inscriptions too early; they should be checked up by Ferguson's latest list of archons (*Klio*, VII. 216, 1907).

Syrian cults had entered the island early in the second century²⁰ and Syrian mercantile societies erected dedications there from 160 on. *CIG.* 2271 is a decree of the "synod of Tyrian merchants" dating from 153, and Roussel²¹ gives a collection of inscriptions of the merchants' association (Poseidonists) of Beirut, Syria, from the second half of the century. Egyptians entered Delos even earlier. Temples to their deities existed there in the third century, and their inscriptions, some of which go back to the third century,²² have come to light by the score. In the latter half of the second century, when Alexandrian merchantmen came in even greater numbers, new temples were raised to Egyptian gods.²³ Other tablets recording honors and gifts show an influx of easterners from a dozen different cities soon after Delos was made a free port in 167. The cities most frequently mentioned are Alexandria, Antioch, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Aradus, Ascalon, Laodicea, Heracleia, and other cities of the Pontic sea. It is the peoples from these places who gained most when in 167 Rome declared Delos a free port and in 146 Corinth fell.

Westerners, however, are by no means absent. In fact before the end of the second century, they seem to predominate. Let us see what the inscriptions have to say about who these westerners were and when they came. It will be remembered that the Roman fleet frequently harbored at Delos during the wars with Philip and Antiochus. That fleet was largely officered and manned by the people of South-Italian cities who were the "naval allies" of Rome. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that almost all the Italian names that occur in the Delian inscriptions before 150 are South-Italian. In a list of the year 180²⁴ Vibius and Oppius are Oscan names, Staius is from Cumae. The only other early list,²⁵ dating from about the same time, records the names Oppius, Staius, Vicirius, Plotitis, Sehius, and Claudius. Apparently the last name alone is Roman, and even that is the name of a freedman. Sestius²⁶ (before 167) is explicitly designated as a native of Fregellae, Avillius²⁷ is a native of Lanuvium, and Trebius Loisius²⁸ is now known to be a Sicilian.²⁹

²⁰ *BCH.*, VI. 295 (1882).

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXXI. 335-377 (1907).

²² *Ibid.*, XXXII. 397 (1908).

²³ Ferguson, *Klio*, VII. 226 (1907).

²⁴ *BCH.*, VI. 29 (1882).

²⁵ *CIL.*, III. 7218.

²⁶ *BCH.*, VIII. 89 (1884).

²⁷ *CIL.*, III. 7242.

²⁸ *BCH.*, IV. 183 (1880).

²⁹ Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 5370.

These Italians may possibly have formed a club or *conventus*³⁰ even before Delos became a free port, since an inscription³¹ attesting communal worship seems to date from about 180. When it was that Roman citizens began to predominate in this club we do not know. We cannot draw conclusions from inscriptions like that of the *BCH.*, V. 463 (1881), dating from about the middle of the century, where the members are called "Romans". This tablet was raised in honor of an Athenian officer; and, since Athens had received Delos from Rome, Athenian official inscriptions regularly speak of the members of the *conventus* as Romans, not as *Itali* or *Italici*, which was the designation used by the members of themselves. Actual names of Roman merchants are extremely rare until after Asia had become a Roman possession in 132, and Delos could in consequence be used as a convenient way-station between Pergamum and Rome. From that time on Roman societies grow numerous. A temple was then erected to Mercury. A society calling itself by the high-sounding title "Hermaistes, Apolloniastes, Poseidoniastes", was formed about 113.³² A little later Roman traders built the so-called *Schola Romanorum*, a club-house which was then the largest building on the island. About 100, Roman freedmen and slaves formed a society for the worship of the *lares compitales*, and have left a generous record of their piety. In 88 there were enough Romans in Delos to influence the policy of the island, for it refused to follow the example of Athens by joining Mithradates against Rome, thereby bringing upon itself the king's wrath.

This brief survey of the Delian records justifies the inference that strictly Roman commerce was of little importance in the Aegean before 132 B. C., when Asia was made a province. Incidentally it proves that the Roman trader could have had no privileges which were not accorded the traders of Cumae, Naples, Tarentum, and a score of other Italian seaport towns; for, had the Romans enjoyed special commercial privileges, a diversity of interests would have precluded the existence of a common *conventus*. It certainly confutes the old hypothesis that in ordering the destruction of Corinth in 146 the Roman government was consciously influenced by the merchants and capitalists interested in the trade that centred about Delos.

³⁰ On the *conventus* of Italians and Romans in foreign parts see Schulten, *De Contentibus Civium Romanorum*, and Kornemann's article "Conventus" in Pauly-Wissowa.

³¹ *CIL.*, III. 7218. It is usually dated early because two of the names seem to be identical with names occurring on Demares's list of 180. It is still a moot question whether an organized cult implies the existence of a *conventus* of the usual kind.

³² *BCH.*, XXXIII. 493 (1909).

Other evidence regarding Rome's foreign trade also supports the contention that it grew up after the days of expansion. Recent excavations prove that the natural harbor of Rome at the Tiber's mouth was still a very small town in Caesar's day. Livy's accounts³³ of the mercantile docks built at Rome in 192 and 174 show them to be only unimportant structures. During the age of the elder Cato, to be sure, there are many references to imports of all kinds, for the wealthier classes were beginning to enjoy eastern wines and table luxuries, finer weaves of cloth, and decorative articles. Sicilian grain and hordes of slaves were also shipped in. Cato even makes reference to the profits that would accrue from judicious investments in the shipping business. That, however, this shipping business was to any great extent in the hands of Romans is very unlikely, for Rome's export trade at the time was insignificant. Roman industry manufactured nothing during the century of Cato that could compete across the seas with the more finished products of Greece and the Orient, while Roman wine and oil, which later were marketed far and wide, had not yet established a reputation abroad.

In the beginning of the last century of the republic references to Roman traders busy in foreign parts become more numerous. In 88, that is, forty years after the province had been formed, agents of Mithradates found eighty thousand Romans and Italians in Asia. This number of course includes tax-gatherers and farmers of the state lands as well as merchants, bankers, and their servants. Sallust tells us that many Romans were engaged in business in Numidia at the end of the second century B. C. and Cicero³⁴ says that in the first decades of the first century B. C. most of the trading in Gaul was carried on by Romans. To this evidence we may add the inscriptional reference³⁵ to a club of *Italici* at Argos which bears the date 69 B. C., and a similar inscription found in Beroea, Macedonia, dating from 57 B. C.

Contrasting with the increasing number of references to Romans engaged in foreign business there is the distressing record of the state's neglect to keep the seas clear of pirates. Rhodes had formerly policed the eastern seas to protect her commerce but found herself unable to bear this burden after the loss of her independence. Piracy flourished disgracefully at the end of the second century B. C. and the senate then made a half-hearted effort to suppress it. This work, however, was not thoroughly done until the year 67, when

³³ Livy, XXXV. 10; XLI. 27. See Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, III. 173.

³⁴ Val. Max., IX. 2, 3; Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 40; Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 19.

³⁵ Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, article "Conventus".

Pompey was assigned to the task. Meanwhile even the Roman port of Ostia had been sacked by these eastern buccaneers. One can hardly understand this remissness except upon the assumption that the traders in the provinces were looked upon at home as a somewhat low class of adventurers who had little connection with the vital interests of the state, and it is certainly incorrect in view of the slight attention paid to this most pressing of their needs to suppose that they exerted any considerable influence upon the policies of the senate.

If one is inclined to wonder why trade was slow to "follow the flag" during the century of growing political prestige, a reference to census statistics may be of interest. The following record of citizens is taken from Livy, the estimate of acreage of purely Roman territory from Beloch's³⁶ careful reckoning:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Acreage</i>
203 B. C.	214,000	6,700,000
193	243,000	9,200,000
173	269,000	13,700,000
168	312,000	"
163	337,000	"
153	324,000	"
141	327,000	"
135	317,000	"

It will be seen that in the thirty years after Zama the number of citizens increased only twenty-five per cent. while the Roman acreage in Italy increased over one hundred per cent. Whence could the capital have come in the poverty-stricken state to develop this enormous increase of land? We know now that neither sufficient men nor funds were forthcoming. The first increase of about 2,500,000 acres resulted from the state's appropriation of the South-Italian country which had been so thoroughly devastated by the last years of the war. Along the coast of this territory the state planted a string of small citizen-colonies as a military measure when an invasion by Antiochus seemed imminent. But outside of this strip

³⁶ *Italische Bund* (1880), and *Bevölkerung der Griech.-Röm. Welt* (1886). The hectare = almost 2½ acres; the acre is a trifle over 1½ jugera.

The decrease in population between 160 and 130 is partly due to a new standard of living that accompanied the influx of wealth and Greek ideas, and partly to the fact that after the public lands had been occupied, the small farmer who was giving way to the plantation owner did not attempt to pre-empt a new homestead but sought his fortune in the provinces. With the Gracchan allotments the census figures took a decided bound upwards again.

little was done in the south. The north needed more immediate development. Along the Po the state was busy punishing Gallic tribes that had aided Hannibal. As fast as the offenders were pacified or driven out it was necessary to plant citizen-colonies in order to assure permanent success. The lands of the north were far richer and more inviting to settlers than those of the south and they could not easily be held unless colonized. We cannot doubt that for thirty years all the available capital and colonists were sent northward. What became of the southern public lands we may infer from the agrarian legislation proposed by the Gracchi later. Since the state could find no buyers or renters for them, she simply permitted chance squatters and ranchers to use them, asked no uncomfortable questions, and even neglected the records. Some cattle-grazers who had gone through the formality of leasing the five hundred jugera allowed by law gradually increased their holdings when they discovered that the adjacent lands were still unoccupied. It will be remembered how in Gracchan days the descendants of these same squatters were compelled to surrender the surplusage despite their appeal to vested rights, and how the democrats who then wanted lands for colonization could not understand why the senate had ever pursued so reckless a policy as to disregard the state's titles to its public lands. The explanation, of course, lies in the fact that from 200 to about 160 the land market was so enormously glutted that the senate saw no reason for asserting its titles. From this it will be readily understood why with all the available capital thus invested in lands for at least half a century after the Punic War there was so little at hand for commerce. In fact it is generally true that Rome's rapid territorial expansion throughout the republican period constantly opened up a market for real-estate investments in advance of capitalistic needs and as constantly attracted Roman capital away from industry and commerce. *

It is interesting to note that at the end of the republican period when the Mediterranean commerce finally began to be concentrated in the hands of Roman citizens, these citizen-tradesmen were chiefly of foreign extraction, not members of the old Roman stock. Very many of them bear Greek and Graeco-Syrian *cognomina*, which means that ex-slaves and their sons had become the merchants of Rome.⁸⁷ The explanation of this fact is not far to seek. We know that the enormous loss of life throughout Italy during the Hannibalic war depleted both shop and farm to such an extent that a great many eastern slaves were imported to work the industrial machinery of Italy. When later the exploitation of provincial resources invited

⁸⁷ Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute* (1909).

thousands of Roman citizens to emigrate, the economic vacuum was again filled by new importations of slaves. These clever easterners were employed by their masters in all kinds of lucrative occupations at which the slaves might make their own profits.²⁸ They were placed in bake-shops, shoe-shops, and wine-booths, in the stalls of the vegetable and the fish markets. There was nothing they could not do. It is not surprising to find that a thrifty slave could save enough to buy his liberty in eight years. Slaves in personal service were frequently set free by generous owners who put them into business and shared profits with them on a partnership basis. These are the people who were handling Rome's merchandise at the seaports of Italy. They came originally from trading and seafaring people. Thrift, cleverness, and fidelity were the qualities which gained them their liberty and these were the same qualities which soon turned them into successful merchants and ship-owners. They had little difficulty in outstripping the Romans in these occupations, for the Roman was always a landlubber. In the late empire the only rivals with whom they disputed the traffic of the seas were the descendants of their own ancestors, the Syrians of the east.²⁹

In reviewing the status of Roman commerce during the last two centuries of the republic, then, we have found that at first the Italians who lived near the Greek seaport towns of southern Italy were actively engaged in the Mediterranean trade. Roman citizens gained importance there only after 130, when they began to exploit their new province of Asia. These citizens, however, always lovers of terra firma, gradually drifted into capitalistic enterprises on land, leaving the freedmen of Oriental and Greek stock in Italy and their sons to gain control of the maritime shipping. In the light of these facts we can readily comprehend the attitude of indifference that the senate regularly assumed toward commerce.

Thus far we have dealt only with the commercial classes that were concerned in carrying Rome's imports and exports. Quite apart from these, there grew up a strong group of capitalistic firms that acted indirectly as the state's agents in many of its financial transactions. These were the associations of *publicani*, whose members were usually *equites*, the nobility of wealth at Rome. Because of its theory of magistracies, Rome could not well create a permanent treasury department capable of collecting all the state revenues and directing the execution of public works; accordingly, it had to let contracts to firms of private citizens for the performance of all such tasks. Obviously the firms that thrived upon these works were

²⁸ Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 164.

²⁹ Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande*.

directly interested in the size of Rome's revenues and disbursements, and accordingly in the growth of the empire that necessarily increased the profitable operations of the firms concerned. The question arises whether this interest converted itself into an effort to influence the state in favor of expansion, and if so at what period. I shall not here discuss the entire question but shall only record some calculations in justification of my belief that this influence did not appear during the second century B. C., where historians⁴⁰ have usually placed it, but rather during the first.

The *locus classicus* for this discussion is a passage in Polybius's description of the Roman constitution which was written about 140 B. C.:⁴¹

In like manner the people on its part is far from being independent of the Senate, and is bound to take its wishes into account both collectively and individually. For contracts, too numerous to count, are given out by the censors in all parts of Italy for the repairs or construction of public buildings; there is also the collection of revenue from many rivers, harbors, gardens, mines, and land—everything," in a word, that comes under the control of the Roman government; and in all these the people⁴² at large are engaged; so that there is scarcely a man, so to speak, who is not interested either as a contractor or as being employed in the works. For some purchase the contracts from the censors themselves; and others go partners with them; while others again go security for these contractors, or actually pledge their property to the treasury for them. Now over all these transactions the Senate has absolute control. It can grant an extension of time; and in case of unforeseen accident can relieve the contractors from a portion of their obligation, or release them from it altogether, if they are absolutely unable to fulfil it.

Polybius might have added that all these joint-stock companies also issued shares of stock as modern corporations do, so that their influence was increased by the expectation of dividends. Obviously a corporation supported by a large number of stock-holders, doubt-

⁴⁰ See especially Heitland's index under "Capitalists, influence of, on Roman policy", with his forty-one references; Deloume, *Les Manieurs d'Argent à Rome*, *passim*; Greenidge, *A History of Rome*, pp. 44 ff.; Ferrero, *passim*; et al. Most writers have exaggerated the influence of the capitalist of the second century.

⁴¹ Polybius, VI. 17.

⁴² This is of course not quite correct. The tributes and tithes of Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, Macedonia, and Africa were collected by the natives in various ways and paid directly to the treasury.

⁴³ Here again Polybius is misleading. In the public works the firms employed little free labor. Slaves did most of the work and they of course had no political influence. We should also note that the most extensive piece of work in the days of Polybius, the great Marcian aqueduct, was not let out to these firms. The aediles took charge of the work and assigned it in some 3000 small lots to individuals. It would seem that the regular contracting firms were not capable of handling so large a task.

less including many senators, might exert a very appreciable influence upon legislation. Polybius also points out the strong hold which the senate had upon the public by its power to control contracts. Without belittling the importance of these facts, one must nevertheless indicate the inadequacy of the historian as a witness in the matter. Polybius left his native Greek village at a time when the wealthiest man in Greece was not worth \$300,000 and when the state budgets of the several Greek states were mere bagatelles. Nothing so astonished him at Rome as the sums of money dealt with there. Rome's budget—in his day about \$5,000,000—now seems a trifle for a world-state, but to him it was enormous, and it is not surprising that he should have over-emphasized the importance of the state's operations. Moreover, Polybius in this passage is developing his favorite political philosophy that the ideal constitution is composed of a system of "checks and balances". He is attempting to prove that Rome's great success is due to her possession of a Polybian constitution and he accordingly strains his material to fit his system. To make the three sides of his triangle exert an even pull, not only must the consuls check the senate, but the senate must check the people. It is very doubtful, however, whether anyone unacquainted with Polybius's theory of this endless chain of control would have discovered the enormous dependence of the people on the senate that so impressed him.

As a safer indication of the amount of influence exerted by capital and its interests, let us try to measure the extent of the operations in which it was engaged. Before the Punic Wars *publicani* were needed at Rome for the collection of port and pasture dues and perhaps of the rent of public lands when there were any. The citizen-tribute was apparently paid to the treasury without intermediary. In those days *publicani* were necessary to the state but they had no control over any large funds. The conquest of Sicily extended their field of operation to the collection of port and pasture dues upon the island, but it is noteworthy that they made little or no effort to bid for the tithe-gathering there. In 214, during the Hannibalic war, they were publicly asked to supply—on credit—provisions for the army in Spain. Nineteen publicans, members of three firms, responded to this request, making the condition that the state insure their cargoes.⁴⁴ Later several firms offered to execute on credit the public works that would be needed until the war should end.⁴⁵ These are the first references we possess to firms of publi-

⁴⁴ Livy, XXIII. 49. 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIV. 18.

cans. After the war we do not often hear of them, although we know that expensive public works were occasionally let.

In order to form an estimate of the amount involved in the annual operations of these firms we must try to determine what part of the annual budget passed through their hands in dues and contracts. In the year 63 B. C. we hear that the treasury had an income⁴⁶ of about \$10,000,000. In 150 B. C. we may fairly estimate it at half of that or less, since the state had not then acquired its most profitable provinces of Asia and Africa nor the tribute of several Greek cities which became stipendiary during the Mithradatic War. Of this hypothetical \$5,000,000, the Roman publicans did not collect half, for the Spanish, the Sardinian, and the Macedonian stipends were paid directly, while the Sicilian tithes were still gathered by native collectors. There probably passed through the hands of the publicans at this time in port and pasture dues, fishing licenses, and occasional mining contracts an average of about \$2,000,000 per annum. Furthermore some of the firms also engaged in public works, road-building, the construction of walls, sewers, aqueducts, and the like. For such matters the senate of the second century usually appropriated a fifth⁴⁷ or a tenth of the year's income, that is, from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. In the rest of the expenditure—practically all for military purposes—the publicans seldom had any share, for the military questor usually managed the finances of the army, receiving the requisite appropriation directly from the treasury.

We may safely conclude therefore that the annual sum in the hands of the *publicani* both for collections and contracts did not on the average exceed \$4,000,000. What profits could be made from this sum that they should influence the state's policies? If we estimate⁴⁸ that there were about 20,000 *equites* in the year 150, with an average census of \$20,000 each—a low estimate—we have a private

⁴⁶ This figure is assured by a combination of Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45, and Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 55. Ptolemy's income from Egypt about the same time was about three-fourths this sum (Diodorus, XVII. 52). For the sake of comparison we may note that the Gallic tribute was about \$2,000,000 under Augustus, that of Asia about \$1,500,000 under Hadrian. Sicily's tithe in 70 B. C. was worth about \$450,000, if we accept from Cicero, *Verr.*, III. 163, the average price of three sesterces per modius of wheat or about sixty cents per bushel.

⁴⁷ Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II. 87.

⁴⁸ The knight's minimum census was doubtless lower in 150 than the 400,000 HS. required by law in the first century. But our estimate is hardly too high for an average. Crassus, the consul of 130, considered the richest man of his day, was worth 100,000,000 HS. I have also estimated the number of knights. In the census of 234, there were 19,000 Roman knights in a citizen-population of 270,000. Since the citizen-census of 153 showed a population of 324,000, our number is probably fair.

capital of \$400,000,000 in the hands of the *equites* alone. In other words, the public contracts at that time involved only one per cent. of the possessions of the *equites*. Probably ninety-nine per cent. was invested in Italian land. The total area of Roman lands at this time was about 14,000,000 acres, which at the average price of unimproved lands given by Columella⁴⁰ (fifty dollars per jugera) would mean a thousand million dollars in soil value alone. It must be evident that throughout the middle of the century the one all-absorbing field for investment was Italian land and that in proportion to the amount devoted to this field the capital engaged in state contracts before the Gracchan legislation was insignificant. Had the tax-farming firms been looking for a more extended field of operation, they could readily have competed for the collection of Sicilian tithes, and the slight inconvenience of employing an agent in Sicily would scarcely have deterred them from doing so if they had been very eager for such state contracts. We must conclude therefore that before the Gracchan period the *equites* were hardly so deeply involved in public finances as to be seriously concerned about the problem of territorial expansion. The attempt so persistently made to explain second-century wars by reference to the supposed machinations of the knights has no foundation in our sources or in any accurate understanding of the knights' position in the economic world of that day.

It cannot be denied, however, that the knights did become a strong political power in the first century, and it was the Gracchan revenue law of 123 which opened the way for their ultimate high position. This law gave them contracts which at once doubled the amount of their operations for the state. But what benefitted them even more were the incidental profits derived from these new contracts. After collecting the Asiatic grain, for example, they could hold it for winter prices and thus double their gains. They could carry the taxes of delinquent cities at usurious rates of interest. Individuals engaged in these operations in Asia found rich opportunities for investing in lands and industries. And the lessons they learned in Asia they applied elsewhere. Not only did they now enter the Sicilian field of tithe-gathering, but individual investors connected with the public firms overran all the provinces in search of bargains and profits. Furthermore, Gracchus had given dignity

⁴⁰ Columella, III. 3. Land was doubtless cheaper in 150 B. C., especially since so much colonization had recently taken place then. Some of the Roman land was of course not arable, yet on the whole it included the choicest parts of Italy. The estimate may go for what it is worth. Columella, at any rate, doubles the value when the land is planted with vines.

to the firms by bestowing political privileges upon the class as a whole. Henceforth the economic interests of the firms found a respectable champion in a compact, ennobled body that occupied a definite place in the state's machinery. Within a few years the voice of the knights can be heard favoring the suppression of devastating wars. In the days of Pompey, they even went one step farther. Then they demanded that the Great General be put in charge of the eastern war because they had reason to believe that he favored the forcible annexation of Syria and would be willing to expose it to the tender mercies of the lucrative contract system.

TENNEY FRANK.

WILLIAM PITT AND WESTMINSTER ELECTIONS

THE part which William Pitt played in the Westminster elections of 1784 and 1788 is of special interest and significance in any attempt to explain his political methods. Yet the election of 1788 is overlooked entirely by almost every writer on Pitt's life, and scarcely any two writers agree in their accounts of the election of 1784. The city and liberties of Westminster occupied a unique place among eighteenth-century English parliamentary constituencies, since every male "inhabitant householder" had a right to vote for members of Parliament. In the shires the suffrage was limited to the forty-shilling freeholders. While scarcely any two boroughs prescribed the same qualifications for suffrage, perhaps in none of them, and certainly in none of considerable size, was such a large proportion of the population permitted to vote as in Westminster. There was, therefore, a better opportunity to secure a genuine expression of the popular will in an election in Westminster than in any other constituency in the kingdom. It is true that several of the large ducal houses with the support of the royal influence were for a long time able to control the votes of a majority of the electors even in the capital city. But in 1780, under the leadership of Charles James Fox, the Whigs were able to overcome this influence, and the Whig orator sat in Parliament as one of the representatives for Westminster from that date till his death.

The story of the political developments in England in the closing months of 1783 and the first six months of 1784 has been told many times, and this is not the place to repeat such familiar facts. Nevertheless, a brief statement of the conditions existing at the time of the general election of 1784 is necessary in order to make clear the significance of the events that took place in Westminster in April and May of that year. Lord North, a minister after the king's own heart, resigned his position soon after the news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached England and was succeeded by a Whig ministry under the leadership of the Marquis of Rockingham. George III., however, was able to retain the services of his lord chancellor, Thurlow, and the presence of this master of intrigue along with the Chathamite leader, Lord Shelburne, in the cabinet made it extremely unlikely that the new administration could long survive. Even before the death of Rockingham in 1782 Fox had determined to resign the foreign portfolio because of a disagreement with Shel-

burne, and the latter was now made prime minister. Other Whigs followed Fox out of the cabinet, and the government was left in the hands of the king's friends and the remnant of the Chathamites. The young William Pitt was called to the cabinet as a prominent member of the latter party. Fox and North soon afterward joined forces for the avowed purpose of seeking to restrict the prerogatives and powers of the king. The Shelburne administration was unable to stand against so formidable a combination of parties, and the coalition came into power under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland but under the real leadership of Fox. George III. made no attempt to conceal his dislike of these ministers, and immediately began to devise schemes to drive them from office. In fact, before he turned the government over to the Whigs he had tried to induce Pitt to form an administration regardless of the parliamentary situation.¹ Pitt thought it wiser to bide his time, however, and George was obliged to submit to a few months of Whig rule. But when Fox brought forward his bill for the reform of the East India Company in the autumn session of 1783 Pitt finally agreed to accept the reins of government. Everybody knows the story of his parliamentary battles with Fox during the subsequent months until he finally dissolved Parliament in March, 1784. In the new House of Commons which resulted he had a dependable majority in his favor.

This article is an attempt to throw new light on the means by which the overwhelming majority in favor of Fox and North in the Parliament of 1783 was transformed into a safe working majority for Pitt in the new House. Usually this change is interpreted as merely the reflection of a radical change in the opinions of the English people. We are told that George III., Pitt, and the House of Lords, in rejecting Fox's India bill and turning the coalition out of office, had acted in accordance with the wishes of a majority of Englishmen, and the political complexion of the new House of Commons is cited as evidence of this fact. Pitt is represented as a champion of reform carried into power by a frenzied wave of popular hostility to the coalition and approval of his policies. This is the view set forth by almost every recent writer from Lecky to Dr. John Holland Rose. Nevertheless there are several questions which call for consideration before we can accept their explanations beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

For example, Pitt was ready in November to undertake a task which he had declined in March because it was seemingly hopeless.

¹ See the king's letters to Pitt in Chatham MSS., 103. These well-known manuscripts are preserved in the British Public Record Office. The citations given here refer to the numbers of the bundles.

In a letter to his mother on February 25, 1783, he confessed frankly that "the great article to decide by seems that of numbers".² Exactly one month from that day he wrote to George III. that it was "utterly impossible for Him after the fullest Consideration of the Situation in which things stand, and of what passed yesterday in the House of Commons, to think of undertaking under such Circumstances the Situation" that the king had proposed to him.³ Evidently he could not then see his way clear to command a majority in the House of Commons. The following months the young statesman spent plotting with his cousin, Lord Temple, who was seeking to curry royal favor by devising a workable scheme for overthrowing the administration.⁴ By August 8 he could write to his mother before leaving for a flying trip to the Continent that things might "possibly go thro' the rest of the summer as they are; tho much longer there is every Reason to believe they will not".⁵ Nevertheless when Fox introduced his India bill at the autumn session it passed the House of Commons by a large majority. On the surface there did not seem to be any reason why Pitt should change the decision he had made in March, yet before the end of December he was prime minister. The obvious explanation of this sudden change of front is that Fox, by his India bill, had aroused the hostility of the proprietors of the gigantic East India Company, and Jenkinson, the leader of the king's friends, and Pitt, with the aid of the money and influence of their new allies, now felt themselves in a position to undertake the fight against the Whigs with fair prospects of success.

But they had no intention of depending entirely on the purses of the nabobs and the members which they controlled. The royal support itself was an item of no mean consideration, carrying with it, as it did, the ability to confer peerages, a species of bribes that was as insidious as it was effective. The control of the public treasury, however, was even more desirable, both because a number of parliamentary constituencies were controlled from that office and because the public coffers were a convenient source of campaign funds, and one which an eighteenth-century politician did not hesitate to use. Accordingly, George III. through Lord Temple interfered to defeat Fox's India bill in the House of Lords and imme-

² Chatham MSS., 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴ See Pitt's letters to his mother, *ibid.*, 12; Buckingham, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, I. 303-305; *Dropmore Papers* (manuscripts of Mr. J. B. Fortescue preserved at Dropmore and calendared by the British Historical Manuscripts Commission), I. 216.

⁵ Chatham MSS., 12.

diately thereafter sent to Fox and North demanding their seals. Naturally the new ministers were for the time unable to command the support of the Commons, and the government was in a deadlock. But it was not to be so for long. There is not space here to discuss in detail the methods by which the change was wrought. John Robinson, North's old secretary of the treasury and campaign manager, himself a political strategist of no mean ability, was called to the task and did the will of Jenkinson, Pitt, and the king.⁶ One by one the Whig majority melted away before their assaults until, by the time of the dissolution in March, there was no longer any room for doubt as to the political complexion of the new Parliament. Indeed it was next to impossible to return a Parliament hostile to an eighteenth-century minister who had the favor of the king, and, as a contemporary pamphleteer pointed out in 1784, it had not been done for nearly a century previous to that date.⁷ It was, therefore, extremely unlikely that the Whigs would be able to make any headway against Pitt with both the king and the East India Company supporting him. Then, too, John Robinson was past-master in the art of conciliating recalcitrant members and electors, while George Rose, his successor in the treasury, had also inherited a share of his ability as a politician. Pitt himself was not the least apt pupil in that art that his time produced, though it is not necessary that we agree with the verdict of the Whig pamphleteer who remarked that, "Sir Robert Walpole himself was a simpleton to this wonderful young man."⁸

Money was no doubt contributed by all the factions interested. We know from his letter to Wilberforce on April 6, 1784, that Pitt himself was active in raising the funds.⁹ But Horace Walpole was probably more nearly correct than he usually was in his views on public questions when he wrote to Sir Horace Mann six days earlier: "The Court struck the blow at the Minister; but it was the gold of the Company that really conjured up the storm, and has diffused it all over England."¹⁰ At any rate it is certain that Pitt worked in harmony with the company and that when he introduced his India bill it was submitted to the directors for suggestions and for their approval.¹¹ But by no means all the money used in the election of 1784 came from private purses. The public funds were

⁶ For Robinson's part in the election of 1784 see, "The Manuscripts of the Marquess of Abergavenny", *Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, appendix, part VI.; Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs of his own Time*, I. 1.

⁷ *A Gleam of Comfort to this Distracted Empire*, etc. (January 22, 1785), p. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹ Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 6.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 466.

¹¹ Chatham MSS., 102, 169, 196, 353.

levied on also, and that with Pitt's knowledge and approval. Such funds were usually accredited to secret service when issued from the treasury, though George III. had been accustomed to supply Robinson with money from his privy purse and probably accommodated Pitt and Rose in a like manner. Some of the vouchers for that issued from the secret service funds are still preserved and testify as to the use to which the money was put.¹² Moreover the king now opened the fountain of promotion into the peerage, which had been closed to the Whigs. So numerous were the resulting creations that a wag wrote in 1790 that whereas France had abolished titles of nobility England "to avoid the pernicious example seems almost to be growing a nation of Lords".¹³ Seventeen promotions were announced within six months after the election of 1784. The majority of these new-made lords had influence in one or more parliamentary constituencies, and some of them, like Sir James Lowther who was created Earl of Lonsdale, were borough magnates.¹⁴

When Pitt finally dissolved Parliament in March, 1784, therefore, the membership of the new House of Commons was no longer a matter of doubt. Lists of the members as they had been agreed upon were already being handed around in Westminster.¹⁵ The Whig papers but stated facts well known to those who were familiar with the conditions when they said:¹⁶

The reception of the friends of the Coalition in the country is held out as a proof that the voice of the public is against them. It is not a conclusive proof—it only shows us, that the length of the treasury purse is greater than that of the opposition purse. Examine the facts. Would Sir Richard Hotham have lost the Borough, if he had stood the contest? Would Sir Charles Bunbury have lost Suffolk? Would Colonel Hartley, if he had been a *Nabob*, have lost Berkshire? Would Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel have lost Yorkshire, or Mr. Coke Norfolk? The men who know these places are convinced that nothing but the want of cash lost the Elections, and the only fact which those

¹² Chatham MSS., 179, 183, 229; Treasury Order Books, vols. XXVI–XXVIII. (preserved as "Treasury Miscellanea" in the Public Record Office); British Museum Additional MSS. 37,835–37,836; House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers*, vol. CVI., no. 962. This last document purports to be a statement of the money credited to secret service, 1774–1798, but should be corrected by comparison with the Order Books and the accounts and vouchers in bundle 229 of the Chatham MSS.

¹³ *The New Parliamentary Register; in a Series of Poetical Epistles*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *The Court and City Register; or, Gentleman's Complete Annual Calendar*, pp. 9–15 (1785).

¹⁵ *Morning Post*, March 26, 1784.

¹⁶ *History of the Westminster Election containing every Material Occurrence from its Commencement . . . to the Close*, p. 320. This work is a documentary history of the election containing, in addition to official documents, reprints of the various hand-bills and newspaper paragraphs that pertained to the election. The compilation seems to have been done without much partizan bias though by a supporter of Fox.

Elections have proved is, that the ability of private gentlemen is not equal to the ability of the nation, and it always must be so.

Great as was the influence of the Whig families they had no chance when pitted against the king's friends and the East India Company with the public treasury to furnish them the sinews of war. That the Whigs were unable to overcome the odds against them affords little evidence one way or the other as to the state of public opinion.

But it was certainly a noteworthy fact that George III., even in appearance, should use his prerogative to effect a change in administration merely in order to secure ministers who could command the support of a majority of the English people. We naturally view such an action on his part with some skepticism. Had Pitt advised a dissolution and referred his claims to the electors immediately after his appointment there might be more grounds for accepting his majority in the new House as evidence of a popular verdict in his favor. Instead he delayed till his henchmen had won over almost a majority in the old Parliament and till the necessary agreements could be made with borough-mongers and men of influence for securing a majority in the new one. To be sure, the Whigs, knowing how well-nigh impossible it would be for them under the circumstances to outbid the government for members of the new House, fought against dissolution and did their best to overthrow Pitt with the following they had in the Parliament elected while North was minister. Nevertheless, it throws no light on the question under discussion to say that either Pitt or Fox violated the code of political etiquette which would now be observed under similar circumstances. Both parties knew that the popular will would have little to do with the decision of the question at issue. While the Whigs apparently played into Pitt's hands by giving him time to put his house in order before the election, they were at the same time using the only means of defeating him that were at all likely to succeed. The truth is, then, that the views of the members of the House of Commons are not a dependable index to popular opinion on public questions in the England of Pitt and Fox.

There were, however, a few constituencies in which the electors were approximately representative of all classes of the population and in which there was a possibility that the popular view might find expression in a parliamentary election. It would seem to be noteworthy, therefore, that in the largest and most democratic of these constituencies, which was also the only one in which the Whigs offered serious resistance to the victorious Pittites, the ministerial party was defeated. If we could assume that the householders in

Westminster gave free expression of their opinions by their votes we should have in the result of the election in that city the most pertinent testimony concerning the political views of the average Englishman in 1784 that it is possible to obtain. There, at least, all classes had an opportunity to voice their sentiments. We certainly ought not to assume that all the English people agreed with those who chanced to live in Westminster. Nevertheless, since it was difficult for the popular will to find expression in any other constituency at that time the result in the capital city has a peculiar significance. That Pitt himself was cognizant of this fact is evident from the strenuous efforts he made to defeat Fox, from the almost unscrupulous methods he used in his attempts to deprive the Whig leader of the fruits of his victory, and from his attempt at a later time to prove that the result in Westminster was not, as Fox claimed, evidence that a majority of the people were opposed to the methods and policies of the administration.

Even in Westminster the Whigs permitted Lord Hood, the customary representative from the navy and supposedly not an extreme partizan, to stand unopposed and devoted all their energy and money to the re-election of Fox. The party leader was opposed by Sir Cecil Wray, who was actively supported by Pitt and whose campaign was managed by Lord Mahon, Pitt's brother-in-law.¹⁷ And Wray stood in sore need of such help, since he is said to have announced at the outset of the campaign that he did not expect to spend a cent from his own pocket.¹⁸ For if Westminster was the most democratic of eighteenth-century English parliamentary constituencies its elections were certainly not conducted in a manner calculated to increase respect for democracy in the minds of conservative men. Hustings were erected in Covent Garden whither the high bailiff and his deputies repaired to record the votes for the respective candidates. The qualifications for the suffrage depended upon no statutory prescriptions but were matters of long-standing custom handed down from each bailiff to his successor. There was no registration, and the right of each elector to poll was determined after he appeared and offered himself as a voter.¹⁹ Throughout the period of polling, the supporters of Hood and Wray employed gangs of ruffians disguised as sailors, ostensibly to keep a way to the hustings clear so that voters for their candidates might have easy access, but really to intimidate those who offered to poll for Fox. The Whigs, on the other hand, employed Irish chairmen to serve

¹⁷ *A Full and Authentic Account of the whole Proceedings in Westminster Hall . . . 14th February, 1784*, p. 20; *History Westminster Election*, p. 129.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁹ Chatham MSS., 237.

in the same capacity in behalf of their candidate.²⁰ Naturally numerous brawls and riots resulted, and the remarkable thing is that so few lives were lost. Since these tactics were practised by both sides, however, they probably resulted in advantage to neither party. The natural inference would seem to be that since the administrative power was in the hands of the Pittites they might expect less interference from the police and, therefore, were at liberty to indulge in greater license, and the facts furnish a certain amount of justification for this inference. Constables were called upon to assist in keeping the peace, but from all accounts they rather served as auxiliaries to the sailor friends of Hood and Wray.²¹

But governmental interference did not stop here. All the power that George III. and Pitt could command was brought to bear in their attempt to defeat Fox. The king himself did not scruple to suggest that corrupt means should be used if necessary to accomplish that result.²² Two hundred and eighty of the royal guards were marched to the polls and voted in a body for Wray, a thing which was probably legal but which Horace Walpole said his father "in the most quiet seasons would not have dared to do".²³ One groom of the king's chamber announced publicly when he voted that he came under a mandate from the Lord Chamberlain's office to vote for Wray with a threat of immediate dismissal if he refused to do so.²⁴ The only thing that the Whigs had to offset this direct royal influence, with the exception of the support of the Prince of Wales, was the personal magnetism of Fox himself, and all who knew him agree that this was an item to be considered. Hannah More, writing to her sister while the election was in progress, said that as a companion of Mrs. Garrick she tried to be loyal to Pitt, but continued: "Unluckily for my principles I met Fox canvassing the other day, and he looks so sensible and agreeable, that if I had not turned my eyes another way, I believe it would have been all over with me."²⁵ But if there were elements in the personality of Fox that attracted support, Westminster was also the scene of his foibles, and his opponents did not hesitate to use them against him both in handbills and newspaper paragraphs. He was pictured as a gambler, a spendthrift, and worse. Fox himself declared that he was prouder of the issue of the contest because of the fact that the electors who

²⁰ *History Westminster Election*, pp. 379-409.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 361-362, 379-409; *Morning Post*, April 8, 1784; *Morning Herald*, April 10, May 12, 1784.

²² Chatham MSS., 103.

²³ Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 469.

²⁴ *Morning Herald*, April 20, 1784.

²⁵ William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (second ed.), I. 316.

had passed on his political conduct were not unfamiliar with his habits of private life.²⁶ Fox also freely admitted that he was bankrupt and that he was dependent on his friends for the money with which to finance his campaign.²⁷ The houses of Portland and Devonshire were the most notable of his supporters, and they probably contributed as much in influence as they did in money. But over against this influence the Pittites had the ducal houses of Newcastle and Northumberland.

It is not easy to determine the amount of money at the disposal of either party, though we know that the coffers of both were well supplied. But many obligations were contracted that were not settled for the next several years. In 1789, for example, Charles Pelham wrote soliciting contributions for that part of Fox's expenses which then remained unpaid, and seemed to think that the fifteen hundred pounds which still had to be raised was an unusually small amount.²⁸ The scrutiny which lasted for nearly a year after the election was estimated to cost each party from eighteen to thirty thousand pounds.²⁹ Clearly, therefore, an eighteenth-century Westminster election was not an inexpensive undertaking. The money used in favor of Fox came from his party friends, of that there is no doubt. As to the source of the funds with which the Pittites were as plentifully supplied more needs to be said. Doubtless the wealthy men of the party contributed their quota; they were invited to do so by public advertisement and by personal solicitations from Pitt himself.³⁰ But that Pitt, and not the defeated candidate, assumed the obligations of the campaign is evident from a letter of Wray to the minister in 1790 in behalf of the wife of the man who had managed the financial details of the campaign in 1784. Wray reminded Pitt that Jackson, the man in question, had saved to the subscribers to the campaign fund "many thousand pounds", and further that Mrs. Jackson herself had "in a most spirited manner saved the election papers from falling into improper hands". In view of these facts Wray urged that Pitt comply with the promise of relief he had made to Mrs. Jackson annually for five years. Pitt endorsed the letter, "To be registered for a small pension".³¹ As to whether Pitt used any money from the public treasury in the Westminster election of 1784, we have no positive information. We have seen that money

²⁶ Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXV. 67.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIV. 922.

²⁸ Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, appendix, part V., p. 158.

²⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 922; XXV. 67.

³⁰ *History Westminster Election*, p. 114; Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 6.

³¹ Chatham MSS., 192.

from that source was used elsewhere in that year, and we shall find that Hood's campaign in Westminster in 1788 was largely financed by the treasury. No vouchers are preserved in the Chatham Manuscripts, however, which afford conclusive evidence that any of the money issued for secret service was used in the capital in 1784. But much money was issued to Rose in the next several years for which his vouchers have not been preserved.³² Moreover, the secret service funds were not the only public money at Pitt's disposal for election purposes. We noted above that the king had been in the habit of furnishing Robinson on such occasions with money from the privy purse. And Lord Chatham mentions in a list of things sent to the king after Pitt's death, "Mr. Pitt's Letter to the King acknowledging the receipt of £5,000—March 31, 1784".³³ Polling began in Westminster that year on April 1. But it really makes little difference whether Pitt procured the funds he used in Westminster from the public treasury or from other sources. The money was provided from the party election funds, and he certainly forced the public treasury to contribute to his election expenses in 1784.

Of course not all of the money was used for actual bribery. Tavern-keepers had to be paid for keeping "open house". The sailors and chairmen demanded their five shillings per day with food and drink, and drink was especially necessary to make them as useful as they were expected to be. The publishers of newspapers had to be paid for their support, and the paragraph writers came in for additional stipends. Printers and writers of handbills and pamphlets, bill-posters, and others too numerous to mention made up the multitude that clamored for their share of eighteenth-century election funds, to say nothing of the canvassers and the committees of the parties with their employees. When we consider that the polling extended over a period of forty days it is clear that the wages of the chairmen and the sailors were no small item in themselves. Whether bribery was resorted to as freely as has been assumed or not, therefore, a Westminster election called for large expenditures of money.³⁴

The issues at stake were set forth clearly and emphatically by speakers and writers on both sides many times while the contest was in progress, so that every elector had an opportunity to inform himself before casting his vote. Fox stated the Whig platform pretty concisely in a speech that he made on February 14, 1784,

³² Chatham MSS., 229; Treasury Order Books, XXVI.-XXIX.

³³ Chatham MSS., 364.

³⁴ The methods used by Pitt to secure the support of the newspapers and writers for them are made clear by the papers in Chatham MSS., 229. The facts concerning the general conduct of the election have been gathered from contemporary newspapers and pamphlets and from the *History of the Westminster Election*.

just outside the hall in which a public meeting advertised by his supporters had been broken up by disorderly Tories.²⁵

The true simple question of the present dispute is, whether the House of Lords and Court Influence shall predominate over the House of Commons, and annihilate its existence, or whether the House of Commons, whom you elected, shall have power to maintain the privileges of the people, to support its liberties, and check the unconstitutional proceedings of a House of Lords whom you never elected; and regulate the prerogatives of the Crown, which was ever ready to seize upon the freedom of the Electors of this country.

The supporters of Wray, on the other hand, agreed with Fox in favoring parliamentary reform, but made the fight against him on the ground that he had betrayed his party in making the coalition with North, and on the ground that his India bill did not meet with the approval of the people and therefore that the king and the House of Lords were justified in refusing to agree to it till a new Parliament had been elected.²⁶ Since Wray had formerly been a supporter of Fox, however, and had actually been first brought into Parliament by the Whig leader,²⁷ he naturally urged the coalition as the reason for his change of view, and this much-criticized measure of Fox was by no means the least emphasized question in the Westminster contest. But the Foxites, unlike many recent historians, did not forget that the alliance of Fox and North was not the only coalition of that time, and turned the attack on the ministerial union of parties that had succeeded the Whigs. The following picturesque example will make clear how effective was the retort:²⁸

By this *Coalition*, the *snake in the grass* trembled for its existence . . . There is but one resource say they, *Damn the Coalition*. . . Now Gentlemen, I say, *Damn the union* . . . but not the union of *North and Fox* . . . *Damn the heterogeneous mixture* in the present *Cabinet*, where a *Pitt* and a *Jenkinson*, a *Gower* and a *Richmond*, a *Dundas* and a *Sydney*, all coalesce and form a *mess of Viper broth* for the good of our tottering Constitution!

It seems tolerably clear, then, that the Westminster electors in 1784 had ample opportunities to get acquainted with the questions in dispute between the two great political parties, and, furthermore, that, if there was any difference, the Pittites had the aid of more influential interests than the Whigs in their efforts to achieve a

²⁵ *History Westminster Election*, pp. 53-66.

²⁶ *A Full and Authentic Account*, pp. 5-25.

²⁷ *A Letter to the Independent Electors of Westminster in the Interest of Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray* (1784).

²⁸ *History Westminster Election*, pp. 173-174.

popular verdict in their favor. When we consider, therefore, that Fox beat Wray by a vote of 6234 to 5998 as compared with 4878 to 4527, the figures in the Fox-Lincoln election in 1780, it is evident that in spite of the efforts of the ministers the Whigs had held their own in the capital city of the kingdom which was also the one contested constituency in which there was a fair opportunity for the wishes of the people to find expression in the election. Indeed, Pitt himself seems to have recognized this fact. In his speech on the address in answer to the king's speech on May 24, 1784, he admitted that Fox had been opposed in Westminster by both the government and the East India Company, and the only excuse he offered for the failure of their combined efforts to defeat the Whig leader is contained in the following statement: "What allies the right hon. gentleman had to fight for him are not noticed. The degree of influence used in his favour has not been observed upon, nor any respect paid to those charms which alone can supersede every other consideration among us all, and command unanimity when nothing else could occasion it."³⁹ Everybody who heard him knew that the speaker referred to the part which the attractive though somewhat unconventional Duchess of Devonshire had played in the canvass in behalf of Fox.

Now there can be no doubt that passion ran high on both sides during the long contest. Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann on March 26, said: "I question whether any woman intrigues with a man of a different party."⁴⁰ And since party feeling was thus strong it is extremely unlikely that the open efforts of one woman could have turned the scale, as writers of that time and some more recently have averred.⁴¹ The carriage of the duchess was certainly useful for bringing to the polls voters from the outlying districts, and she did not scruple to drive the vehicle herself.⁴² It is doubtful whether her influence was very effective in any other way, though if the Englishmen of that day had any of the gentlemanly instincts that characterize those of a later generation it is not difficult to conclude that some of them may have been led to vote for the candidate she championed by the illiberal, not to say vulgar, attacks that Pitt's paragraphers and pamphleteers persistently made on the duchess. Those penny-a-liners had few scruples, as the following characteristic example of their wit will testify:⁴³

³⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV, 842.

⁴⁰ Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII, 465.

⁴¹ *Morning Post*, April 27, 1784; Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I, 6; Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, pp. 172-173; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X, 283.

⁴² Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I, 11.

⁴³ *History Westminster Election*, p. 434.

The girl condemn'd to walk the streets,
And pick each blackguard up she meets,
And get him in her clutches;
Has lost her trade—for they despise
Her wanton airs, her leering eyes—
Now they can kiss a Duchess.

So constantly did the administration scribblers indulge in scurrilities of this kind that by the end of the canvass it was impossible to miss the point when a Whig paper remarked: "There was not one woman of virtue called W—— in a certain morning print of yesterday."⁴⁴ These campaign stories were repeated so frequently at the time that Wraxall and Walpole, those princes of scandal-mongers, imbedded them in their reminiscences.⁴⁵ And even in recent years serious historians have accepted, without taking the trouble to look for evidence in support of it, the story that the Duchess of Devonshire bought votes for Fox with kisses.⁴⁶ The Whig leaders, on the other hand, may not have lived up to the strictest tenets of morality in their private life, but they at least did not stoop to employ such unworthy weapons against the women who canvassed in behalf of Hood and Wray. But whatever methods the duchess may have used there is nothing to prove that she was the determining factor in the election.

However Fox obtained his majority Pitt had no intention of letting him sit for Westminster if he could devise a way to prevent it. By April 15, though Wray was still ahead as a result of the votes of the guards, the tide had turned in favor of Fox, and on that day the Pittites advertised that they would demand a scrutiny at the close of the poll.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, after Fox began to gain, the number of votes cast per day was so small and the contest over each vote was so warm that the election itself was as much of a scrutiny as could possibly be had under the existing law. But Fox continued to gain slowly though steadily, and on May 1 the king wrote Pitt that the high bailiff had consented to grant a scrutiny should it be asked for.⁴⁸ Still no effort was made to close the poll, and on the fortieth day of the election the bailiff himself declared it closed in order to enable him to make a return on the day that the writ expired.⁴⁹ By this action Corbett, the bailiff, virtually admitted

⁴⁴ *Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, June 15, 1784.

⁴⁵ Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I, 11; Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII, 469.

⁴⁶ Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, p. 172; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X, 283.

⁴⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, April 15, 1784; *Morning Post*, April 15, 1784.

⁴⁸ Chatham MSS., 103.

⁴⁹ *History Westminster Election*, p. 129.

that his jurisdiction would end with the expiration of the writ. Nevertheless, at the request of the friends of Wray he granted a scrutiny and, instead of returning the names of two members to sit in Parliament for Westminster as he ought to have done, sent a certificate to the effect that a scrutiny had been demanded and was then in progress.⁵⁰

By this illegal action of Corbett, who was manifestly acting under instructions from the ministers, Westminster was deprived of representation in the new Parliament that met May 18, 1784, for its first session. That the action was illegal is now generally admitted, and in that Parliament even so good a Tory as Sir John Scott, afterward Lord Chancellor Eldon, declined to support Pitt in such a manifest breach of the law.⁵¹ One speaker pertinently suggested that should the sheriff of Cornwall develop such conscientious scruples as the defenders of Corbett alleged in support of his action the House would be thereby deprived of forty members.⁵² Fox had been accommodated with a seat for a pocket borough by Sir Thomas Dundas and was in the House to take up the cudgels in behalf of his late constituents. When Parliament organized for business on May 24 Lee, the former Whig attorney-general, moved that Corbett "ought to have returned two citizens to sit in Parliament for Westminster". Lee argued in defense of this motion that a statute provided that the sheriff to whom a writ was issued should on or before the day that Parliament was called to meet make a return of it to the clerk of the crown in the High Court of Chancery.⁵³ The granting of a scrutiny, therefore, to be conducted after the date of the expiration of the writ, was clearly beyond the legal authority of the bailiff. Sir Lloyd Kenyon, the master of the rolls, who is said to have been Pitt's legal adviser throughout these proceedings,⁵⁴ replied to Lee, contending that the court had the power to excuse a sheriff from the execution of a writ. He moved the previous question so that a motion might be made to have the bailiff attend and give an account of his action. Lord Mahon, Pitt's brother-in-law, seconded this motion and brought forward the two chief arguments that were afterward alleged in defense of the course that Pitt decided upon. In the first place, he contended that the statute that Lee had cited referred to the writs issued to sheriffs, whereas the Westminster election was held by the bailiff in obedience to a "precept" issued to him by the sheriff of

⁵⁰ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL. 8.

⁵¹ Twiss, *The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*, I. 168-172; Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXV. 121.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XXV. 43.

⁵³ 10 and 11 Wm. III., c. 7.

⁵⁴ John Nicholls, *Recollections and Reflections . . . during the Reign of George III.*, II. 151.

Middlesex. Obviously this argument was absurd, for a law requiring the sheriff to make his return at a given time implied that the return of the bailiff must be in his hands by that time. It was on this theory that Corbett closed the poll on May 17. But Lord Mahon argued, in the second place, that another statute required the bailiff to take an oath that he would return "such person or persons as shall, to the best of my judgment, appear to me to have the majority of legal votes". Since Corbett had not been able to make up his mind, manifestly he could not comply with the terms of this oath. Pepper Arden, a personal friend of Pitt, who had made him attorney-general, adopted and elaborated this argument. "Cavillers", he said, "might talk of law and statutes, but there was neither law nor statute that could bind or compel a man to do that which in his conscience he could not do. This was a species of arbitrary compulsion that was wholly unjustifiable." And so the tender conscience of Thomas Corbett served for the time to support this illegal and unjustifiable procedure, and the previous question was ordered by an overwhelming majority.⁵⁵

Pitt, however, had not yet fully made up his mind whether it would be better to proceed with the scrutiny or to order the bailiff to make a double return, in which case the question would be submitted to a committee chosen under Grenville's act.⁵⁶ But the confident young minister wrote to his friend, the Duke of Rutland, that same night: "In either case I have no doubt of Fox being thrown out, though in either there may be great delay, inconvenience, and expense, and the choice of the alternative is delicate."⁵⁷ On the following day Fox petitioned that the case might be heard by a committee appointed under Grenville's act.⁵⁸ Pitt denied the petition on the advice of Kenyon and Lord Mulgrave, and the scrutiny went on.

Of the further progress of the scrutiny it is not necessary to say much here. Fox and his friends kept continually hammering away at what was manifestly a weak spot in the armor of their opponents. Motion after motion was voted down by Pitt's loyal members, who likewise rejected every petition of the Whigs. Such proceedings necessarily interfered seriously with Pitt's legislative programme. Nevertheless he persisted in the measure until on March 4, 1785, when either, as George III. suggested, because there were some lengths to

⁵⁵ For all the debates on the scrutiny see Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 802-XXV. 146.

⁵⁶ 10 Geo. III., c. 16. The act provides a method of choosing by lot a committee to try election petitions.

⁵⁷ *Correspondence between the Right Honble William Pitt and Charles Duke of Rutland, 1781-1787*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL. 13-14.

which even Pitt's personal friends would not go⁵⁹ or for some other reason, he found himself in a minority. Thereupon Corbett was immediately ordered to make his return. As a result of the scrutiny Fox was now accredited with 6126 votes against 5895 for Wray as compared with 6234 to 5998, the figures at the close of the poll.⁶⁰ When we consider the powers that were arrayed against Fox and the resources at their command this result is eloquent testimony in favor of the view that he was the choice of a majority of the electors in Westminster.

The question remains, why Pitt, who posed as a champion of reform, used such indefensible measures against his most distinguished rival. Subsequent writers have by no means agreed on this point. Lecky, Lord Rosebery, and Dr. Hunt agree essentially in pronouncing it a display of tactlessness, unusual for Pitt and due in this case to an ungenerous personal pique.⁶¹ Wraxall, who voted with Pitt on every question relating to the matter, in part supports this view, but palliates it somewhat by saying that Pitt on this occasion "adopted the resentment of the court, and became an active instrument of persecution".⁶² Walpole, who although writing at the time was perhaps as little likely to know what he was talking about as Wraxall, said that the scrutiny was "solely set on foot and maintained by royal vengeance".⁶³ Fox himself was inclined to acquit Pitt personally of blame for the action and to attribute it to the secret advisers of the king.⁶⁴ But this view does not accord well with the ill-disguised satisfaction of the king at the conclusion of the matter which is apparent in his letter to Pitt on the day of his defeat.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Daniel Pulteney, a henchman of the Duke of Rutland, wrote his patron that Jenkinson had not scrupled to call the scrutiny a "very silly business".⁶⁶ Pulteney, however, had a theory of his own, which was that Pitt was acting "out of respect to the Dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle". He argued this from the activity of Lord Mulgrave in support of the measure. But he was obliged to confess that Pitt himself remained firm in his support of the scrutiny to the last.⁶⁷ Perhaps the most astonishing

⁵⁹ Chatham MSS., 103; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, I., appendix, p. xvi.

⁶⁰ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL, 588.

⁶¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, V, 331; Rosebery, *Pitt*, p. 66; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X, 284.

⁶² Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I, 73.

⁶³ Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII, 545.

⁶⁴ Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV, 921.

⁶⁵ Chatham MSS., 103; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, I., appendix, p. xv.

⁶⁶ *Rutland Papers* (Fourteenth Report Historical Manuscripts Commission, appendix, part I.), p. 178.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

apology for Pitt's treatment of Fox is offered by Dr. Rose, who has recently published a two-volume biography of Pitt.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, it is likely that he acted, not from rancour, not from a desire to ban his enemy, least of all under any dictation from Windsor (of this I have found no sign), but rather from the dictates of political morality. That there had been trumping up of false votes was notorious; for the votes polled exceeded the total number of voters; and Pitt, as the champion of purity at elections, may have deemed it his duty to probe the sore to the bottom. In these days an avowed champion of Reform would be praised for such conduct.

In view of the facts set forth in this article comment on the surmise of Dr. Rose is unnecessary.

Amid such a confusion of divergent opinions one is at first almost inclined to sympathize with the sarcasm of Walpole, who, after trying in vain to understand the situation, wrote: "In short, in such a season of party violence, one cannot learn the truth of what happens in the next street; future historians, however, will know it exactly, and, what is more, people will believe them!"⁶⁹ Nevertheless, some points are reasonably clear. In the first place, Pitt seldom or never, unless this be a case, allowed his personal feelings to interfere with his political measures. We ought to have pretty good evidence, therefore, before accepting that explanation of his action in this case. Pulteney's allegation concerning the dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle may have had some justification, but it is extremely unlikely that Pitt would have subjected himself to so much trouble and inconvenience and even have endangered his own political life merely in order to please them. The more plausible view seems to be that Pitt recognized, as Burke afterward remarked,⁷⁰ that political leadership in England at that time must rest with either Fox or himself. The young minister had recently possessed himself of power by methods which could be justified on no other theory than that by so doing he carried out the real wishes of a majority of the English people. Pitt asserted boldly that the popular verdict had been against his rival,⁷¹ but no man knew better than he how weak was the argument for that contention as long as Fox sat as the duly elected representative for Westminster. He, therefore, naturally

⁶⁸ Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, p. 271; Chatham MSS., 237. A parliamentary committee in 1789 found 17,291 houses in Westminster of which 2742 were occupied by women or untenanted. So the number of votes cast did not exceed the total number of voters.

⁶⁹ Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 545.

⁷⁰ *A Letter from the Rt. Honourable Edmund Burke to . . . the Duke of Portland*, etc. (1793).

⁷¹ Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 842.

sought to throw discredit on Fox's victory and to deprive him of the prestige of sitting in Parliament as the choice of the most democratic constituency in England.

This view receives further support from the fact that Pitt did not give up his efforts to wrest Westminster from the Whigs after his defeat on the scrutiny in 1785. On account of the resignation of Lord Howe and the promotion of Lord Chatham to the head of the admiralty, Lord Hood, Fox's colleague in Parliament from the capital, was called to the admiralty board in 1788. In the election which necessarily followed Pitt tried to make a victory for Hood as certain as possible by withholding from the Whigs till the last minute the knowledge that the election would take place.⁷² When the announcement was finally made Fox was at Newmarket, and even after he came to town was not inclined to favor contesting the seat. The Whig noblemen on whom the financial burdens of the campaign would fall thought otherwise, however, and after hurried consultations Lord John Townshend, a personal friend of Fox, was selected to oppose Hood. The Whigs subscribed fifteen thousand pounds,⁷³ and both sides were soon busy, after the usual fashion of Westminster elections of that time, in the last serious contest in which the electors of the capital took part in the lifetimes of Pitt and Fox.

The methods employed by Pitt and his henchmen in this campaign, if any wise different, were even less defensible than those used in the campaign of 1784. There was no lack of money. John Horne Tooke, who was in the employ of Hood's committee, has left a statement that twenty thousand pounds was collected from men in office and the rest furnished by the treasury.⁷⁴ The vouchers which Hood gave to Rose to the amount of six thousand pounds are still preserved in the Chatham Manuscripts. But this does not include the vouchers for several thousand pounds expended under the more immediate supervision of Rose and Pitt.⁷⁵ Moreover, John Frost, who at Pitt's "pressing solicitations" acted as Hood's financial agent, was bringing suit in 1796 for money that still remained unpaid.⁷⁶ Furthermore we do not know that we have all of the vouchers for secret service money paid to Hood, nor that the secret service funds were the only means used for issuing the public money to that candidate. We do know, however, that Hood contributed

⁷² Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 22; Rosebery, *Pitt and Wilberforce*, p. 42.

⁷³ Auckland, *Journal and Correspondence*, II. 222.

⁷⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 27,849; *Dropmore Papers*, I. 360.

⁷⁵ Chatham MSS., 229.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

very little to the fund himself, for he wrote to Pitt in 1786 asking for some sinecure appointment on the ground that his expenses in the election of 1784 had caused him serious financial embarrassment.⁷⁷

Not only was the campaign of 1788 financed by Pitt; both he and Rose as well as his cousin, William Grenville, also took active personal parts in the canvass.⁷⁸ Rose himself made contracts with the tavern-keepers, newspaper-writers, and bill-posters, and received daily reports as to their activities.⁷⁹ In some cases, indeed, the contracts were such as only Rose with Pitt's consent could make. George Smith, for example, the proprietor of the Star and Garter, who had previously been convicted of brewing beer for sale without license, was employed by Rose in Pitt's presence to keep an open house in Hood's behalf.⁸⁰ As long as he continued to be useful to Hood the excise office made no attempt to collect the fine, and only after he had been obliged to bring suit against Rose to collect the amount due him for his political services was the old offense revived against him. Another man who was held in prison under a penalty of seven hundred pounds incurred for a violation of the lottery act was released on insufficient bail, and this in part defrayed by Lord Hood, on his promise to procure sixty votes for the latter.⁸¹

But Pitt was not content with merely bringing influences of this kind to secure supporters for Hood. His agents indulged in exhibitions of violence which were exceptional even for that time. The behavior of neither party affords a creditable spectacle in this respect. Both had gangs of rowdies whose business it was to intimidate the voters of the opposite party under the pretense of keeping a way clear to the hustings.⁸² Nevertheless, the ministerialist ruffians seem to have been more aggressive, a fact which may in part be explained by the following affidavit made by twenty-one men on August 27, 1788, at Wapping in the county of Middlesex:⁸³

That these deponents . . . [together with four other persons who with the twenty-one making the deposition are mentioned by name] and upwards of two hundred other persons, were each of them hired, and their names entered in a book, kept by Lieutenant Spry, on the part

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁷⁸ Auckland, *Journal and Correspondence*, II. 223; French Laurence, *Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, etc., p. 3; Buckingham, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, I. 414.

⁷⁹ Chatham MSS., 229.

⁸⁰ *Trial of George Rose, Esq. . . for employing Mr. Smith*, etc., p. 22.

⁸¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLVII. 686-687.

⁸² Laurence, *Epistolary Correspondence*, pp. 1-7; *A Letter to John Horne Tooke Esq.*, etc. (1789); Buckingham, *Court and Cabinets*, I. 416-419.

⁸³ *Morning Chronicle*, August 28, 1788; *Morning Herald*, August 29, 1788.

of the Right Hon. Lord Hood; to attend during the election for Westminster, at the Hustings and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, armed with Bludgeons, for the purpose of *intimidating*, and committing acts of violence and outrage upon Electors of the City of Westminster, in the interest of Lord John Townshend; and that it was thereupon agreed by the said Lieutenant Spry, that these deponents and the said several other persons should be paid for their attendance, provided with bludgeons, and allowed breakfast, dinner, supper, and three quarts of porter every day at the expence of Lord Hood, or his committee, at the House of Timothy Martin.

The deposition goes on to recite that this contract was duly carried out. These things, it will be remembered, were paid for out of the public funds.

Violence and corruption were not the only weapons to which Pitt and Rose resorted in their efforts to rescue Westminster from the Whigs. They employed cheap pamphleteers to attack Townshend and Fox personally in squibs and handbills which for slanderous indecency fortunately have few equals in English party warfare. The wife of Pitt's lately deceased personal friend, the Duke of Rutland, was freely named in these attacks as a woman whose virtue Townshend had attempted to violate.⁸⁴ To describe the Foxites as a "needy gang of unprincipled gamblers, and desperate insolvents; some of whom, though *beggars* from their *birth*, have the *impudence* to vie in their expences with gentlemen of fortune"⁸⁵ was mild language compared to some that was used. It would be difficult, for example, to justify an accusation like: "Who are the Canvassers for Lord John Townshend? Are not many, if not most of them, insolvent gamblers, who make their lying boasts that they are succeeding in their canvass by corrupting the morals of your wives and daughters?"⁸⁶ But these are scarcely representative examples of the obscenities and unprintable personalities in which the opponents of Townshend indulged. And it cannot be alleged that Rose and Pitt were not responsible for them. The authors were paid by Rose himself with money out of the public treasury, and the men who wrote and distributed the handbills received daily instructions from that same politician.⁸⁷ Perhaps the character of Hood did not lend itself so easily to such attacks. Or it may be that the Whigs were better furnished with the instincts of refinement than their opponents. At any rate their campaign literature was singularly free from matter of this sort.

⁸⁴ *The World*, July 21, 1788; *Morning Post*, July 23, 1788; and various handbills preserved in the British Museum.

⁸⁵ *Morning Post*, August 6, 1788.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1788.

⁸⁷ Chatham MSS., 229.

All of Pitt's efforts were in vain, however, and at the close of the poll on August 4 Townshend had 6392 votes against 5569 for Hood. On that day *The World*, a ministerialist organ, appeared with wide borders of black around its pages and carried in double-column display type: "The Genius of England must Mourn on a Day like This! For This Day is the Triumph of Dullness and Depravity! The Constitution is Crippled! The Worst Wounds Rankle in her Deepest Vitals! Her Existence, If the Malignity of the Mischief be not Checked, Her Existence is no More!" Obviously, the result held out little that was encouraging to Pitt. The Whigs had multiplied their majority threefold in spite of his utmost exertions. Yet he was unwilling to give up the contest without a final effort. Accordingly Hood petitioned for a committee under Grenville's act, alleging that corrupt and illegal practices had been used against him.⁸⁸

As a matter of fact no serious effort was made to unseat Townshend, and probably none was intended. Pitt had rather hit upon a new scheme by means of which he hoped to win Westminster in the general election which was approaching. Hood's attorneys contended that their client ought to be given his seat because the suffrage had not been confined to those householders who had actually paid "scot and lot", but those who were merely liable to pay it had been admitted to vote also. Furthermore, they contended that several outlying districts which were really a part of the Duchy of Lancaster had been illegally incorporated in the city and liberties of Westminster, and that the inhabitants of these districts had no right to vote in Westminster. Should these two points be sustained they produced figures to show that Hood would have a majority of the remaining votes. Neither of these questions had been raised in 1784, when the election was held in precisely the same manner as regards these points as in 1788.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the committee, in which the friends of Pitt naturally predominated, reported on July 6, 1789, that it appeared that the merits of the petition depended "in part upon the Right of Election". The committee had, therefore, conducted an investigation and reported a verdict sustaining both of the contentions which Hood's attorneys had raised, though Townshend retained his seat since Hood had in the meantime withdrawn his petition. In this report the ministerialists manifestly had in view the general election of 1790. But the Whigs now came forward with a counter petition objecting to the decision of the committee. Pitt was unable to bring the question to a conclusion immediately, and the matter hung fire till March 16, 1795, when a

⁸⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLIV. 125.

⁸⁹ Chatham MSS., 237. This bundle contains the minutes of the committee and other papers relating to the contest.

new committee reported a compromise which was acceptable to both parties. This compromise accepted the contentions of the Whigs as to the extent of the city, but confined the suffrage in the future to those who had actually paid their rates.⁶⁰

After his failure to carry this point immediately Pitt apparently despaired of ever winning Westminster from Fox. Fox, as we have seen, was even reluctant to make the fight in 1788, knowing how heavy the burdens would be upon his political friends, and another contest could serve no good purpose so far as he was concerned. Consequently, before the election of 1790 the parties agreed upon a truce which was recorded in the scrawling hand of Dundas:⁶¹

On the 15th March, 1790, Lord Lauderdale and Mr. Pitt held a conversation on the subject of the Westminster election, Mr. Dundas present.

They agreed that each party should propose and support only one candidate respectively at the first general election, and during the whole of next Parliament, so long as either the Duke of Portland or Mr. Fox on the one part, and Mr. Pitt or Mr. Grenville on the other, are alive, and including every other contingency of death, vacancy, and changes of administration.

In this conversation Mr. Pitt agreed in the name of the present administration or any of which he or Mr. Grenville should be a member.

Lord Lauderdale agreed in the name, and as authorised by the Duke of Portland or Mr. Fox, or any administration of which either should be a member.

It was understood that this agreement has nothing to do with any question respecting the right of election for the city of Westminster.

Both sides appear to have been faithful to the terms of this agreement, and the question of Westminster's representation in the House of Commons was thus effectually disposed of for the time being. What is more to the point in this discussion, Pitt by this settlement confessed himself unable to win the support of the electors of the capital city from the Whig leader. We have seen already that the minister did not face this disagreeable necessity till he had put forth his utmost power to avoid it. And if he could not command the support of a majority of the inhabitants of Westminster we are justified under the circumstances in demanding more conclusive proof than has yet been adduced before we agree with the popular notion that he came into power as the choice of a majority of the English people in 1784.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

⁶⁰ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLIV. 125, 264, 518-519, 646; L. 322-323, 326.

⁶¹ Chatham MSS., 157; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, II. 52.

MEXICAN DIPLOMACY ON THE EVE OF WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

THE abortive treaty of 1844 for the annexation of Texas to the United States, signed by John C. Calhoun as Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, was a matter of deep interest to several other powers, and of the most vital interest to Mexico. For eight years successive Mexican administrations had continued to proclaim their undying determination to recover their lost province, although in reality they did nothing; and when rumors of negotiations for annexation became rife, Mexico did not fail to address the most solemn warnings to the United States, to the effect that the ratification of the treaty would be equivalent to a declaration of war.

Great Britain was also interested in the proposed treaty. Ever since Sir Robert Peel's administration came in, his foreign secretary, Lord Aberdeen, had given increasing attention to the fate of Texas. He saw, of course, how futile were the Mexican threats; but he was really and seriously concerned lest the new republic should fall into the hands of the United States, a consummation which, as he had good reason to believe, was probably desired by the people of Texas. On the other hand, it was certain that many of the public men of Texas, moved chiefly by personal ambition, were insistent that she should remain an independent member of the family of nations; while there was a vigorous and outspoken opposition in the United States to the project of annexation.

It seemed therefore quite possible to prevent annexation, and there were many reasons why the British cabinet should wish it prevented. In the first place, the growing power of the United States was regarded with general distrust by European statesmen, and the platform of the Democratic party in 1844 announced a policy of expansion which, if carried out, would immensely increase the national possessions. In the second place, an independent, cotton-growing Texas, especially if established under free-trade auspices, might very well prove an excellent customer for British manufactures. In the third place, British merchants and bondholders needed to see peace and prosperity in Mexico; and the maintenance of an army, under the pretense that it was needed to conquer Texas, was a constant drain on Mexican resources and a principal cause of unceasing revolutions.

And finally it was believed that as annexation to the United States would involve the perpetuation of slavery, so the defeat of annexation might result in abolition, at least in Texas.

British policy, therefore, so far as it concerned itself with Texas at all, sought to build up a strong republic—independent alike of Mexico and the United States. The problem involved three factors. It was necessary to convince the people of Texas that continued independence was better for them than annexation. It was necessary to persuade the Mexican government that the recognition of Texan independence as a *fait accompli* was wise and could be effected without loss of precious dignity. And it was necessary to avoid a rupture with the United States, with which relations were already somewhat strained. Most of the subjects of dispute had been removed by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, but by 1844 the Oregon question had assumed a threatening aspect; and a little thing might have kindled a war between Great Britain and her best customer.

As time went on, Aberdeen discovered that every move he made in reference to Texas, was likely to excite the jealous susceptibilities of the people of the United States. He had suggested to Mexico that she should recognize the independence of Texas upon condition that the latter abolish slavery, and he had even listened complacently to the suggestion that Great Britain should advance the money necessary to purchase the freedom of the Texan slaves. But protests from the United States and Texas alike, induced Aberdeen to drop this particular project.

What Great Britain needed, in order to give weight to her diplomatic representations, was evidently the support of other European nations and especially of France—for the rest of Europe did not seriously count. Spain, for the moment, was helpless. Italy and Germany were mere geographical expressions, without navies and without national interest in world politics. Austria and Russia were evidently too far off to care.

But with France there were also difficulties. Under the previous government, Lord Palmerston had managed to create a bitter spirit of animosity between the two countries which it was the task of Aberdeen in England and Guizot in France—cordially supported as they were by the two royal families—to remove. As the interests of France were small, Guizot was perfectly willing to gratify Aberdeen by a promise to support British policies in Mexico and Texas; but beyond friendly and peaceable representations France would not go.

It would indeed have been matter for surprise if France at this time had proved willing to embark upon any policy that savored of

adventure. Ever since Guizot came into power in October, 1840, he had been faced by popular demands for electoral and other reforms which he was by no means disposed to grant. He had no belief in universal suffrage. Protestant bourgeois as he proclaimed himself, he profoundly distrusted the people, and he never comprehended the strength or sincerity of their demands. He practised therefore, with the cordial consent of the king, a policy of timid conservatism, of which continued peace and material prosperity were to be the fruits.

Such then were the unsatisfactory materials with which Aberdeen was compelled to work, and he may have wished to delay action till a more favorable time; but the necessity of quickly settling the affairs of Texas, if the alarming growth of the United States was to be checked, became daily more apparent as the time for the presidential election of 1844 approached. The first step must be to get Mexico to yield something of her intransigent attitude, but Mexican vanity stood firmly in the way. Yet it was apparent that Texas was already gone, and that if affairs were not soon adjusted, Mexico ran a very great risk of losing much more of her territory—notably California. California was not defensible against any naval force; so that the only way in which Mexico could possibly hope to secure that part of her possessions in the event of a war with the United States, was by foreign help. But foreign help could not be counted on unless England, or France, or both, would enter into a treaty definitely guaranteeing the integrity of the Mexican possessions. For such a guarantee Mexico must expect to pay; and the price that was asked was her recognition of Texan independence. Mexico hesitated—and opportunity, which had thus knocked at her door, passed on and did not return.

The bargain was definitely proposed by Lord Aberdeen when he first heard of Calhoun's treaty. In an interview near the end of May, 1844, with Señor Tomás Murphy, the Mexican minister in London, Aberdeen said that if Mexico would acknowledge the independence of Texas, England—and very likely France—would oppose annexation to the United States, and that he would endeavor that France and England should jointly guarantee the independence of Texas and the integrity of Mexican territory.¹ At the same time he proposed to the French government "a joint operation on the part of Great Britain and France in order to induce Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas, on a guarantee being jointly given by us that that independence shall be respected by other Nations, and that

¹ E. D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, p. 168.

the Mexico-Texian boundary shall be secured from further encroachment".² And a few days later, in an interview with Ashbel Smith, the chargé d'affaires of Texas, he proposed a "diplomatic Act" by which England and France, acting with Texas and Mexico, were to secure and guarantee the independence of Texas and settle its boundaries.

So also in the memorandum of "points on the settlement of which the Mexican Government might agree to grant the Independence of Texas", discussed in the following autumn between the British minister in Mexico, and the Mexican government of that day, one of the clauses of the proposed arrangement was that Mexico should receive an indemnity for the loss of Texas, and also,³

the guarantee of England and France united, that under no pretext whatever shall the Texans ever pass the Boundaries marked out. The same nations shall also guarantee to Mexico the Californias, New Mexico and the other points of the Northern frontier bordering on the United States, according to a Treaty to be drawn up for that purpose.—If the United States carry into effect the annexation of Texas, to the North American Union, England and France will assist Mexico in the contest which may be thereby brought on.

The idea of any guarantee was, however, soon abandoned, partly because France was lukewarm, partly because of warnings from the British and French ministers in Washington that the least suggestion of foreign interference in the matter of Texas would tend to Clay's defeat in the presidential election of that year, and thus to the immediate annexation of Texas, and partly because the Mexican government persisted in announcing their intention to make war at once. At the end, therefore, of September, 1844, Bankhead, the British minister, had been instructed to say that if Santa Anna, then President of Mexico, "were to take the rash step of invading Texas with a view to its forcible reconquest, and if, by so doing, he should find himself involved in difficulties with other Countries, he must not look for the support of Great Britain in aiding him to extricate himself from those difficulties".⁴ But, in spite of this and other later warnings that Mexico would be left to herself if she did not heed the advice of her friends in Europe, the Mexican ministers in London

² Aberdeen to Cowley, May 31, in Aberdeen to Bankhead, June 3, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 171. Smith to Jones, June 24, 1844. Garrison, *Tex. Dip. Corr.* (Am. Hist. Assoc.), III. 1154.

³ Bankhead to Aberdeen, November 29, 1844. Adams, p. 188.

⁴ Aberdeen to Pakenham, September 30, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 186. The subjects referred to thus far in this article have been very fully discussed in two well-documented works, Professor Adams's book already cited, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, and Mr. Justin H. Smith's *Annexation of Texas*.

and Paris continued to haggle over territorial guarantees by the European powers as a condition for abandoning her projects for a reconquest of Texas. In repeated interviews they argued that no reliance was to be placed on the good faith of the Texans. If Texan independence were recognized to-day by Mexico, what was to prevent those people from seeking to-morrow annexation to the United States? Would not the mere fact of recognition by Mexico be cited as a proof that Texas was at complete liberty to dispose of her own fortunes? And would a mere treaty of peace and friendship restrain the Texans from new aggressions? Nothing, it was said, would hold the Texans back but the fear of physical force; which force France and Great Britain must agree to furnish if they wished to see peace and to see Texas universally recognized as an independent state.⁵

By the end of November, 1844, the news of Polk's election to the presidency on a platform which favored annexation, had reached Europe, and foreign governments began to see that the United States was fully committed to that policy, and that any attempt by Europe to prevent it might only result in a war for which the people of France, at any rate, had no desire.⁶

It appears to me [wrote Maximo Garro, the Mexican minister in Paris] that the Cabinet of the Tuilleries, even though it might wish to join with that of London in taking up arms in opposition to the annexation of Texas, could never do so without exciting a general clamor against any such policy. All parties, without exception, would accuse it of forgetting that the interests of France require that it shall not take part in a struggle which, whatever its result, will weaken two of her maritime rivals and consequently contribute to the growth of her own power. . . .

Should there be a rupture between the English and the Americans, we ought to be able to count on an alliance with the former; but if the latter should take up arms to oppose our projected expedition for the reconquest of Texas, I believe that Great Britain will only present itself as a *pacific mediator*, and that it would redouble its efforts to have Mexico recognize the independence of that Department, offering in that event to intervene in a more efficacious manner.

William R. King, the American minister in Paris, held similar opinions.⁷

There should be no wavering [he wrote privately to the Secretary

⁵ Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, June 1, and July 1, 1845; Garro to same, March 25, June 17, 1845. MSS. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico).

⁶ Garro to Minister of Relations, December 18, 1844. *Ibid.*

⁷ King to Calhoun, December 28, 1844. *Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1899, II. 1014.

of State] on the subject of the annexation of Texas. The growling of the British Lion should only stimulate to immediate action. To falter in our course from apprehension of her hostility, would disgrace us in the eyes of all Europe. The act accomplished, England will complain, perhaps threaten, and her newspapers will be lavish in their abuse; but that will be all; for with all her power, she can but feel, that a war with us would be more prejudicial to her interest, than with any other nation. She will not risk the consequences. I am aware that she is exerting herself to induce France to make common cause with her on the subject of Texas, and that Mr. Guizot is much inclined to do so; but it will not succeed. It would shock the French nation, which detests all alliances with England; and the King is too wise, and too prudent to place himself in a position which would go far towards destroying his dynasty.

In fact, although neither Señor Garro nor Mr. King was aware of it, the French government had already politely declined to make common cause with Great Britain. Lord Cowley, the British ambassador, early in December, 1844, reported that he had asked the direct question whether France would "act in concert with us in any negotiation with the Mexican Govt. for the purpose of obtaining from them the acknowledgment of" Texan independence. "Any negotiation" probably seemed to Guizot a dangerously vague phrase, and he therefore explained just how far France would go.⁸

Undoubtedly [he said to Cowley] we will both use our best efforts for that purpose, and will even refuse to recognize the annexation of Texas to the United States; but, as a Question of Peace or War, I am not prepared to say that its junction with the American States is of sufficient importance to us to justify our having recourse to arms in order to prevent it.

Aberdeen however was very unwilling to abandon his project of a joint guarantee by Great Britain and France, which he still hoped would result in preserving the existence of Texas as an independent nation. But to attain that end it was evidently essential to gain the assent of Mexico; and Aberdeen thought it necessary to use plain language in warning the Mexican authorities of the dangerous consequences of the course they seemed bent on pursuing. To the British minister in Mexico he wrote:⁹

You will also again clearly explain to the Mexican Govt. that they must not count upon the assistance of Gt. Britain, whose friendly advice they have constantly neglected in enabling them to resist any attack which may at any time, now or hereafter, be made upon Mexico by the U. States, since they will have wilfully exposed themselves to such attacks by omitting to make a friend and dependent of Texas while it was yet time.

⁸ Cowley to Aberdeen, December 2, 1844. Adams, pp. 190-191.

⁹ Aberdeen to Bankhead, December 31, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

To Tomás Murphy, the Mexican minister in London, similar language was used, but the door of hope was held open. In a conversation at the Foreign Office, Aberdeen denounced the folly of an attempt to reconquer Texas.¹⁰

What had Mexico to hope from such an undertaking? Not only would she never recover that territory, but in the course of the war with the United States in which she would be involved she would probably lose other provinces and especially the Californias. These and no others would be the results, truly disastrous for Mexico, if she persisted in so imprudent a policy. How different would the conditions be if she would listen to the voice of reason and decide once for all to recognize the independence of Texas! . . . In that event, as he had told me several times, it might be possible, with the co-operation of France, to enter into arrangements for guaranteeing at the proper time the independence of Texas and the territory of Mexico. The recognition of the independence of that country is therefore the only course which reason, prudence and sane policy commend to Mexico,—following the example of other countries in the like circumstances. It was well for England that she recognized the independence of her former colonies when she saw it was hopeless to reconquer them; and it was well for Spain that she did the same in respect to hers. "Now", continued Lord Aberdeen, "if Mexico persists in her desperate projects, it may not be impossible that England and France will resolve to oppose both annexation to the United States and reconquest by Mexico. . . . I have spoken of the Californias. You may be aware that offers of that country have been made to England by the Mexican inhabitants themselves; as also proposals for establishing colonies there under our protection. Acting in this matter in the honorable spirit in which I hope we always act, we have closed our ears to these proposals and offers." But must we let our fair dealing serve only to enable some one else to take possession of that territory? The attack of Commodore Jones in time of peace shows you what you must expect from the preposterous war (*la insensata guerra*) with the United States in which you wish to engage."

Aberdeen's rather vague suggestions naturally did not suffice for the Mexican minister and he asked what guarantees might be counted on. Aberdeen replied that England alone would not engage in war with the United States, though he would not say so to them.¹²

I asked His Lordship what was the disposition of France. He replied that when M. Guizot was here¹³ he talked with him at length about the business, and although in general he agreed to co-operate with England on the question of guarantees, it must be confessed he would not go to the length of binding himself to make war.

¹⁰ Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

¹¹ The reference is to a request for a protectorate made through Forbes, the British vice-consul at Monterey, by the inhabitants of California some months before.

¹² Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

¹³ Guizot accompanied Louis Philippe on a state visit to Queen Victoria in the latter part of September, 1844.

Thus matters stood during the winter, but late in March, 1845, after the news of the passage of the annexation resolutions by Congress had reached Europe, accompanied by the inaugural address of the new President, the Mexican minister in Paris had an interview with the king which he reported in the following dramatic form to his government:¹⁴

"*Eh bien*, M. Garro, is your new administration going to recognize the independence of Texas so as to stop annexation to the United States? It cannot be prevented in any other way."

"I don't know of anything, Sir, *up to the present time*, which leads me to suppose that the present Government is any more disposed than the former one to abandon the defence of our just rights over that territory."

"Why, what hope have you of reconquering it? The Americans will never allow it, and a war with them would lead to consequences infinitely serious and disastrous for Mexico, for she would run the risk of losing a great part of her present possessions."

After some further talk of the advantages to Mexico of recognizing Texas, which, Garro said, would be illusory unless France and England guaranteed the stipulations of any treaty that might be made, the king spoke of the difficulty of conquering Texas without a navy capable of dealing with the American navy, and of the foolish obstinacy Spain had displayed in refusing to recognize the independence of her former colonies. The king continued:

"To describe the kind of obstinacy which prevents seeing what is evident, we have a word in French which is very easy to translate into Spanish,—*infatuation*. This *infatuation* prevents you from recognizing what everybody else sees; that is, that you have lost Texas irrevocably. If I urge you to recognize her independence, it is because I believe that advantages will result to Mexico, in whose happiness I take great interest. If a barrier is once established between Mexico and the United States, they will have no excuse for mixing in your affairs, and they will let you live in peace."

"Sir, I beg your Majesty to let me ask one question, and allow me to send your answer to my Government, so that they may know what they can in any event rely on. If Mexico should decide to recognize the independence of Texas, would your Majesty's Government and that of Great Britain *guarantee formally* the perpetuity of the boundaries of the new State?"

"No, no. Any such formal guarantee might give rise to an intervention, and I don't like interventions; because I know what they cost in blood and treasure. Without this formal guarantee, the arrangements you may make would afford you the necessary security."

¹⁴ Garro to the Minister of Relations, March 25, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The italics appear in the original.

"Sir, I beg your Majesty to believe that my question was only for the purpose of informing my Government what it could hope for in the *hypothesis* which I have no grounds for foreseeing—"

The King walked away, repeating that he was very sincerely interested in the happiness of the Republic.

Before closing this despatch I must tell your Excellency that before the King came up to speak to me he had been talking for some time with the English Ambassador who, when His Majesty left him, came up to me and asked me what I thought about Texan affairs. I told him frankly my opinion and my astonishment at the recognition,—under Lord Palmerston's *Whig* Administration (the Ambassador Lord Cowley is of the *Tory* party) which wished to abolish negro slavery,—of a State that had established slavery where it did not exist before. Lord Cowley, pretending not to understand my observation, said: "But really now, how does the Mexican Government expect to conquer Texas?" (Your Excellency will note that this was almost exactly the same question with which the King began his conversation.) "By employing all her resources," I replied, "to accomplish it." "Yes, but with these resources you have not been able to do much so far, and I am afraid that, in view of all the circumstances, you will not be more fortunate in future."

I confess that I could not find any entirely satisfactory answer to this simple remark.

A few days after this interview, all idea of giving Mexico any guarantees against the possible encroachments of the United States, was definitely abandoned, as the French government firmly refused to join in the project. Lord Aberdeen, however, was not yet willing to give up his hopes of continuing Texas as an independent state. He therefore proposed that Great Britain and France should unite in trying once more to secure an acknowledgment of Texan independence from Mexico, but upon the distinct understanding that there should be no responsibility on the part of either of the European powers. Both governments on several occasions had been told positively that Mexico would not recognize Texas without a guarantee of her good behavior, but Aberdeen doubtless thought it worth while, under the hopeless circumstances of Mexico, to make one more attempt.¹⁵

H. M's Govt. [he wrote] would not propose to enter into any guarantee whatever with respect to either of the States, whether to secure to Mexico the inviolability of Her frontier against Texas, or to secure to Texas its frontier against the United States or Mexico. In fact H. M's Govt. would not be disposed to place themselves in any respect in a position which might give to Mexico or to Texas the power of hereafter calling upon Great Britain, as a matter of right, for her protection and succour against encroachment on the part of any other Powers, nor even of leading the Mexican Govt. to hope that such succour might be afforded. . . . They would merely wish to exert all

¹⁵ Aberdeen to Cowley, April 15, 1845. Adams, pp. 204-205.

the weight of their moral influence, added to that of France, in order to secure the present pacification and future stability both of Mexico and Texas.

Guizot of course agreed to this proposal, which was exactly in line with what his government desired and had offered; and on the first day of May instructions were sent to Bankhead directing him to urge upon the Mexican government the importance of haste in seizing this last chance of safety.¹⁶

By the same packet that carried Aberdeen's instructions, the Mexican minister in London wrote to notify his government of the change in the attitude of Peel's administration, which he thought was not surprising, as they had always declared they would not act alone and France had undoubtedly refused to co-operate in the plan of an absolute guarantee.¹⁷

These letters were crossed on the Atlantic by "most secret" circular instructions from the Mexican government to its diplomatic agents in England, France, and Spain, advising them of the propositions just submitted by Texas to the effect that she would agree not to annex herself to the United States if Mexico would recognize her independence.¹⁸ The President of Mexico, the circular stated,

is disposed to enter into a treaty with Texas suitable to the honor and dignity of Mexico, thus avoiding all the evils and complications of a war, while he hopes to be able to succeed in preventing the annexation of that Department to the United States, and in the meantime has succeeded in delaying it for the present. . . . Your Excellency will endeavor to ascertain the spirit of the Government to which you are accredited and ascertain the terms upon which a treaty might be made with England, France and Spain . . . which will assure to Mexico the inviolability of the territory she now possesses.

Spain, of course, was hopelessly incapable of entering into any engagement of the kind suggested.¹⁹

This unhappy nation [Gorostiza, formerly minister in the United States, and now Mexican minister in Madrid, had written some weeks earlier], torn for so many years past by civil war, is at present in too precarious a position, too weak and without resources . . . to note and weigh the serious events which are taking place on the Continent of America. Thus it is that although the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States has attracted the attention of Her Majesty's Government on account of its importance and on account of the am-

¹⁶ Aberdeen to Bankhead, May 1, 1845. Adams, p. 205.

¹⁷ Murphy to Minister of Relations, May 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

¹⁸ Cuevas to Garro, *muy reservado*, April 29, 1845. *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Gorostiza to Minister of Relations, February 20, 1845. *Ibid.*

bitious tendencies which the dishonorable (*desleal*) conduct of the Washington Cabinet towards Mexico discloses, it is not to be expected that it will deal with the matter with the energy that could be desired, and still less that it will be disposed to take up arms to prevent the usurpation which is projected by our Anglo-American neighbors.

France, for different reasons, was equally unwilling to become involved in war. In reply to a verbal request to Guizot for a definite answer, he was reported to have replied as follows:²⁰

Neither the King's Government nor that of Great Britain (to whom this question is of more interest) can *ever* give such a guarantee as will, in certain events, compel them to intervene with force of arms. No: *such a guarantee is impossible*, and you can readily understand the reasons that forbid it, when you consider present circumstances and the difficulties inherent in the parliamentary system etc., etc.; but the Mexican Government may count upon the *moral influence* of France and England,—upon their good offices, their friendly counsels, their energetic remonstrances to prevent the Texans from violating treaties.

Great Britain perhaps might have been willing to take a much bolder stand if she could have felt sure of France; but without France at her side, the British government had always refused to act. The Mexican agents abroad believed that the secret of this refusal was the very slight reliance that could be placed by England on French support. They reported that most Frenchmen, so far as they thought about the business at all, were rather pleased than otherwise at the idea of Texas being annexed to the United States—simply because it was displeasing to England. What the immense majority of Frenchmen wanted, was to see England humiliated. Louis Philippe and his cabinet—though perhaps some of them in the bottom of their hearts had not forgotten Waterloo—did what was possible to bring about the *entente cordiale*, of which the king talked so much. Such an informal understanding was entirely in line with their general policy; but if the country was not behind them, there was a point beyond which the French government would not have dared to go in support of Great Britain.

The British government, it was said, were perfectly aware of this attitude on the part of the French people; and they were afraid that in the event of war with the United States France might not only fail to make common cause with Great Britain, but might even seek revenge, as in 1778, by again making an American alliance.

It is therefore not surprising [wrote Murphy] that the English Minister looks with terror upon anything that may expose him to a war

²⁰ Garro to same, June 23, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The italics appear in the original.

with the United States, unless he first comes to a complete understanding with France; not because he needs her physical force in a conflict with the United States, but because he must commit her in such a manner that she will not join with the enemy's forces and so bring on a general conflagration throughout the world, which would involve incalculable consequences.

And Murphy, in his next dispatch, expressed the opinion that if Aberdeen could have carried France along with him, war with the United States would not have stood in his way; but that, as this was impossible, he was greatly embarrassed.²¹

When, therefore, the news reached the Foreign Office that the Texan proposals to abandon annexation to the United States on condition of being recognized as independent, had been favorably received by Mexico, while news came at the same time of the unanimous expressions of popular feeling in Texas against these proposals, Aberdeen saw his whole policy in ruins. He had wished to build up a buffer state and to limit the growth of the United States, but his instruments had all failed him. France, whom he may have suspected of treachery, would not take a firm stand; the people of Texas plainly did not wish her to be a buffer state; and Mexico was never ready to take any step at the time when the British government wished it to move. He was therefore very much disposed to blame the Mexicans. "You always do everything too late", he told Murphy; and he showed him newspaper reports of the public meetings in Texas in favor of annexation. It was too late, he said, to think of a joint guarantee; there was no hope that France would agree to it; and England, as he had always told Murphy, would not act alone.²²

But Lord Aberdeen's determination not to interfere was sorely tried when he began to see with increasing clearness that one inevitable result of war between Mexico and the United States must be the annexation of California to the Union. All he could do, however, was to advise delay. A declaration of war, he told the Mexicans, would immediately be followed by American occupation of California, the bombardment of Vera Cruz, and the blockade of all ports; and neither England nor France could interfere, if the annexation of Texas had once become a *fait accompli*.²³

It follows [wrote Murphy] that England and therefore France, will submit in patience to the annexation of Texas and the defeat of the plan

²¹ "Nada le importaría esa guerra si pudiese arrastrar tras sí á la Francia, pero no siendo esto posible, la cuestión por cierto toma un carácter bien embarazoso para su señoría." Murphy to Minister of Relations, November 1, 1845; October 1, 1845. And to the same effect, Garro to same, May 30, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

²² Murphy to Minister of Relations, July 1, 1845. *Ibid.*

²³ Same to same, August 1, 1845. *Ibid.*

of intervening to prevent it. Still, I think I can assure your Excellency that although Lord Aberdeen is afraid the Californias may fall into the power of the Americans, and advises Mexico to refrain from declaring war, and watches in a passive attitude the course of events, he would at heart rejoice if war should take place and our country should prove successful.

But notwithstanding all the discouraging reports which the Mexican government received from Europe, it resolved, as soon as it was definitely informed that the Texas convention had voted to accept the American proposals, to make one more appeal for aid to the European powers.

In despatches to the Mexican ministers in France and England, the Minister of Foreign Relations declared that in view of the consummation of the act of usurpation of the Department of Texas by the United States, no recourse was left but that of war with the United States. As that nation had observed a dishonorable and perfidious conduct toward Mexico and had no other object than to possess itself of as much as possible of Mexican territory, the republic would be unworthy of a place among civilized nations were it not resolved to prosecute the war with vigor. A body of fourteen thousand men was on the march for the frontier, and six thousand more would shortly follow them. The government of the republic had sought to adopt the advice of France and England in the matter of Texas, and it flattered itself therefore that these governments would now show themselves favorable to the cause of the Mexican nation, which, it was hoped, would have their sympathy and moral support.²⁴

To London, in addition, was sent another and "most secret" instruction. The Americans, it was said, had officially announced their intention of taking the Californias.²⁵

It is therefore indispensable that your Excellency shall, in the manner you may deem most opportune and respectful, give H. M. Government to understand that Mexico will receive their cooperation to prevent the loss of that important part of her territory, as a proof of the good relations that exist between the two Countries. As it is not possible to tell what policy may have been adopted by the British Cabinet on learning of the annexation of Texas to the United States, it is not possible to indicate the steps which your Excellency should take.

A copy of the first of these important documents was sent to Lord Aberdeen, and Murphy waited a few days before calling on

²⁴ Cuevas to Garro, July 30, 1845, *reservado*. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. Also duplicate to Murphy of same date.

²⁵ Cuevas to Murphy, July 30, 1845, *muy reservado*. *Ibid*.

him, so that it might be translated in the Foreign Office. When he called, Aberdeen said that he saw from this paper that the Mexican government considered war inevitable and that they asked for the sympathy and moral support of the British government in the struggle; but he did not see clearly what practical application that request could have. Murphy said he had something to propose. It was evident that the ambitious views of the United States were not limited to the violent and infamous robbery of Texas; California was also the object of their avarice, and it was certain that as soon as war was formally declared it would be the target for their attacks. Mexico would not neglect so important a point, and would defend it by all the means in her power, in spite of the difficulties due to the distance of that part of the republic from the seat of government. But to defend California effectually naval forces were essential, and Mexico had none, so that the help of some friendly naval power was needed. This he was instructed to ask of Great Britain.

Aberdeen said this would be taking part in the war between Mexico and the United States, which Murphy could not but admit. He thought, however, if the British government objected to war, some other plan might be adopted, "some combination which would give England the right to repel, even by force, the attack which the Americans would not fail to make on California,—without thereby losing the neutral character she wishes to preserve".

Aberdeen rose to the bait at once. There had been, he said, a plan of colonization made up by the English consul in the City of Mexico, Mr. Mackintosh, a partner of the firm of Manning and Marshall of London, which Mr. Bankhead had forwarded with a view to finding out how far the British government would favor it; and he sent for Bankhead's despatch and read it to Murphy.²⁶ Murphy, who had known nothing of Mackintosh's proposal, was quick to see the point.²⁷

"Well, my Lord", I said, "if the Mexican Government agrees to that, your Lordship can see that you have there an opportunity under which England might put itself forward as protecting British interests, and might consequently oppose an attack on California by the United States, without thereby taking any part in the war."

But Aberdeen saw difficulties in the way. He remarked that if the grant to British subjects had been made some time before, the

²⁶ This was Bankhead's despatch of July 30, 1845, to which no reply was given (in writing) either to Bankhead or to the promoters. Adams, p. 253. It seems probable however that Lord Aberdeen may have talked to members of the firm in London.

²⁷ Murphy to Minister of Relations, October 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

matter would be simpler; but if made just at this time, it would be regarded as made in view of present circumstances and would give just cause of complaint to the United States. If war with America was to be the result, the subject would have to be looked at for a long time, even if Mexico offered California to England as a gift, for England would not go to war alone. Now if France would join, it would be very different. Murphy asked what was to be done to accomplish the object. Aberdeen remained silent for some time, and finally promised to sound Guizot.

At an interview a few days later, reported in the same despatch, Aberdeen said he had sent a message to Guizot, but had received no answer. The policy of France generally, he considered, was to keep in accord with the United States. He wished Mexico would present some definite proposal showing how England could co-operate. Any project of colonization or sale made at this time would justly offend the United States. He would consider what could be done; the matter was very serious and needed reflection; it was necessary to watch the course of events, and in the meantime Mexico ought not to rush hastily into war.

Murphy left him firmly convinced that the British government would frankly and openly take part in the war so as to prevent the United States from absorbing the Californias, if only it were not held back by France; but as to the helpful attitude of France, he had the gravest doubts.

As time went on, Aberdeen expressed himself more and more positively as being unwilling to intervene in any way between Mexico and the United States. Murphy quoted him as saying that he did not doubt the justice of the Mexican cause; but that it would be quixotic for England and France to act upon that ground alone. As for the interest they had in seeing that California did not fall into the hands of the United States, this was hardly enough to run the risk of a war with its incalculable consequences. No doubt they could never look with indifference upon that fine country in American hands, but there was a great distinction between that and willingness to risk a disastrous war.

However, a hint from Lord Aberdeen that something might yet be done by taking advantage of a Mexican decree of April 12, 1837, under which the holders of bonds were authorized to locate land in various parts of Mexico, including California, set Murphy to work on another plan. He learned that a Mr. Powles, vice-chairman of the Mexican Bondholders Committee, and Mr. Price, a member of the firm of Manning and Marshall, had seen Aberdeen and that he

had expressed an active interest in the subject. Accordingly, with the aid of these two gentlemen, a plan was drawn up as follows: a company was to be formed to acquire from the Mexican government 50,000,000 acres of land in California. This land was to be paid for as follows:

In deferred Mexican bonds	£5,000,000
In cash	1,250,000
	<hr/> £6,250,000

The cash was to be payable to Mexico in installments, and was to be borrowed by the company at three per cent. interest, the British government guaranteeing the loan.

How the British government was to be persuaded to guarantee such a loan, did not appear; nor did Murphy very clearly see how Great Britain could intervene to prevent the sovereignty over California passing from Mexico to the United States, provided the interests of British subjects were not thereby put in peril. However, the only question with Lord Aberdeen was to find some way of thwarting American expansion, without at the same time risking a war. He even ventured the impossible suggestion that California might set up an independent government, which could be recognized by Mexico and its independence guaranteed by France and England.²⁸

Lord Aberdeen [wrote Murphy] has been reduced to inventing various plans which on the one hand may prevent the dreaded seizure of California by the Americans, and on the other, may not involve England in serious controversies with them. It is not easy to find such a combination, but I believe I am not mistaken in saying that he thinks of nothing else.

But Murphy, of course, did not know that the subject of intervention to save California from the encroaching Americans had been the subject of discussions in the cabinet which had ended in the decision to do nothing, so long as the Oregon question remained open. There was strong pressure brought to bear from many different sources, there were vague tales in the newspapers of British efforts to acquire "the magnificent province of California", and it was urged that the prospect of a war between Mexico and the United States offered an assured means of converting dreams into realities and of securing, by a grant from Mexico, an interest in that great and undeveloped land.²⁹

²⁸ Murphy to Minister of Relations, November 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

²⁹ A French newspaper, early in March, 1845, stated that it appeared from Santa Anna's correspondence (then recently seized) that he had been on the eve

Lord Aberdeen's son, writing of the cabinet discussion, and the proposal to establish a British colony in California, says:³⁰

Nor was Sir Robert Peel wholly undazzled by the prospect. Lord Aberdeen, however, maintained that although, had the interest already existed, it would be right to maintain it, its establishment at such a moment, and in such a manner, would be little less hostile than a declaration by England and France that they would not permit the conquest of California, which would virtually be a declaration of war against the United States. But even this he would prefer to the creation of an unreal interest for political purposes. The grant might create a very pretty quarrel, but no amount of privileges bestowed by Mexico would suffice to keep out American settlers, who would probably be too powerful for the English. But, above all, while the Oregon question was still capable of a peaceful settlement, he deprecated a measure which would practically render such a settlement impossible. Should the negotiation respecting it end in war, the offers of Mexico should be at once accepted, and the active co-operation of Mexican forces on the south-west frontier of the United States encouraged as a formidable diversion of the American forces.

This then was the final decision of the British government, and it involved some embarrassment to their agents in America, and especially to Sir George Seymour, the admiral in command of the naval squadron on the Pacific coast. He was left wholly without instructions in reference to California, and all he knew of the policy of his government was derived from the copy of Lord Aberdeen's instructions of December 31, 1844, which, late in the year 1845, Bankhead sent him from Mexico.

From these instructions the admiral gathered that while the separation of California from Mexico was regarded as probably inevitable, it was for the Mexican government alone to take measures for providing against such a contingency; that Great Britain had no ground for interfering to preserve California to Mexico, just as it had no right to excite or encourage the inhabitants to separate from Mexico; and that if Mexico chose to be wilfully blind, it could not be helped. A policy of complete non-interference thus seemed to be prescribed, although the British minister had been enjoined to keep his attention "vigilantly alive" to every credible report of occurrences in California, and especially with respect to

of ceding California to perfidious Albion for the sum of \$25,000,000, "of which he had reserved for himself a considerable portion". This was copied a day or two later in the English press, and a question was asked in the House of Commons concerning it. Sir Robert Peel for the government of the day and Lord Palmerston for the former government, declared the story to be "as utterly without foundation as any report that was ever invented". *Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, third series, LXXVIII. 431 (March 7, 1845).

³⁰ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, pp. 183-184.

the proceedings of American citizens settled in that province, who, it was thought, were "likely to play a prominent part in any proceeding which may take place there, having for its object to free the Province from the yoke of Mexico".⁸¹

In the spring of 1846, Admiral Seymour, still without any later instructions, was rendered anxious by the increase of the United States naval forces in the Pacific, and he wrote urging that reinforcements be sent him. Again in the month of June he wrote that he had not deemed it advisable to proceed to California "under the views expressed by the Earl of Aberdeen to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, deprecating interference, while California formed a part of the Mexican Republic".⁸² This, of course, is proof positive that no instructions in reference to California of a date later than December 31, 1844, had reached him; much as he must have desired to learn what was expected of the ships under his command.

The British policy of waiting to see what would happen in the Oregon business before deciding what to do about California, involved also the necessity, or at least the desirability, of preventing Mexico from beginning hostilities prematurely. The news, therefore, that the American government had offered to resume diplomatic relations and to send a minister to Mexico, fitted in exactly with Aberdeen's plans. He hoped that everything might be gained by negotiation, especially time; and he was careful to warn the Mexicans to go slowly. Murphy, the Mexican minister, having referred in conversation to the Oregon dispute:⁸³

Lord Aberdeen replied that England would do everything compatible with her honor and her interest to avoid a conflict, and that he believed and hoped that the United States, after all, would not disturb the peace between the two countries; that at any rate there would be a whole year in which to negotiate on the subject; that within the year either the United States would submit it to the arbitration of some third power, or they would agree on some honorable and convenient division of the disputed territory; and that if neither of these things were done (though he was sure they would be) then God knew what would happen. His Lordship continued, "So far as concerns your negotiation with the United States, *as it is always your custom to go slow, you might now do so from policy.*"⁸⁴

⁸¹ Aberdeen to Bankhead, December 31, 1844. Adams, pp. 249-250.

⁸² Seymour to Corry, June 13, 1846. *Ibid.*, p. 258. See also letter from Lord Alcester, *Century Magazine*, XL, 794.

⁸³ Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1846. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

⁸⁴ Italics in the original. "Ya que siempre andan Vmds. despacio por habito, ahora pueden hacerlo por cálculo."

Nothing more was said about grants of land in California or projects of colonization. These were tacitly dropped, and nothing was heard from them again. The European governments waited for news from America.

Toward the end of January, 1846, Murphy received instructions from his government written just before the arrival of the American minister (John Slidell) at Vera Cruz. Nothing, he was told, had yet been heard from the United States as to the arrival of "a commissioner to settle the pending questions", but the American ships of war had been withdrawn from before Vera Cruz. There were rumors that General Taylor was advancing from Corpus Christi, Texas, where he had been encamped since the summer, but this was supposed to be due to the fact that he had not yet been informed of the arrangement to receive the American commissioner. Nothing had been omitted, so far as the scanty resources of the treasury would permit, to provide for the defense and security of the Department of the Californias. A military expedition was preparing, part of which was already at Acapulco, and would proceed to its destination as soon as possible; "but as perchance it may not be sufficient to ward off a *coup de main* by the Americans, in case hostilities should be begun, it is indispensable to rely on the assistance which the Government hopes to obtain from Great Britain and France".³⁵

There was really nothing new in all this, but Murphy duly called at the Foreign Office, and then wrote that he had nothing to add to the information he had previously given. The Foreign Secretary still strongly objected to the Americans taking California, and would be glad to employ the power of Great Britain to prevent it; but he would not dare to take such a step, as he feared a war with the United States. But, added Murphy, "this consideration would not stop him, if he could count on the co-operation of France"; and although France had not openly changed her policy, yet Guizot's recent speeches, in which he deplored the spirit of aggression that prevailed in the United States, furnished some ground for hope that such a change had been decided on.

The situation, so far as the Mexican representatives in Europe could see it, was thus summed up:³⁶

Our position under present circumstances appears to me to be as follows: England will do nothing, either directly or indirectly, to forestall the usurpation of California so long as the Oregon question

³⁵ Peña y Peña to Murphy, November 28, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The expedition from Acapulco never got away from that port.

³⁶ Murphy to Minister of Relations, February 1, 1846. *Ibid.*

remains unsettled. If war breaks out, all difficulty on the part of this Cabinet will have ceased, and there is no doubt that one of their first objects will be, in that event, to prevent that usurpation. If on the contrary the dispute over Oregon is amicably settled, England will find herself more free to act in respect to California,—openly and directly in case France continues in the line of policy she has just adopted and lends her aid,—or indirectly by means of some plan of Colonization in California.

Every hope therefore of foreign aid depended on the result of the negotiations concerning the Oregon question; and when that question was settled a few weeks later, Mexico was left by her European friends to the fate which they had so clearly foretold.

GEORGE L. RIVES.

THE QUESTION OF ARMING THE SLAVES

IN the civil history of the Confederacy, the last important issue was, inevitably, the mode of reinforcing Lee. The government was at its wits' end but some plan of reinforcement had to be formed. During the winter of 1864-1865, the advance of Sherman was paralleled at Richmond by the growth of a realization that the worst had come, and that desperate remedies—even the last word for desperation—must now be tried. A variety of schemes—not excepting a dictatorship on the Roman model—merged gradually in the absorbing question: Shall we arm the slaves?

What appears to have been the earliest proposition to do so was made in the summer of 1863.¹ It was then considered unpractical. The exigencies of Johnston's army caused a revival of the scheme in the following year. A council of officers, while the army was encamped at Dalton, considered and rejected it.² Throughout the year 1864, the subject was a matter of general talk—how general it is now impossible to say—and in some quarters at least produced bitter opposition. Two letters preserved in the Confederate Museum at Richmond³ profess to record the sentiment of the army around Petersburg. It is stated in these letters that the army was strongly opposed to the scheme and that many men had declared they would leave the ranks if negroes were enrolled. Another interesting document is a letter from Secretary Benjamin to Frederick A. Porcher of Charleston.⁴ It was written late in 1864, and speaks of a ripening sentiment with regard to the enrollment of negroes, advises a campaign of discussion in the newspapers, evades rather than meets certain constitutional difficulties, and adroitly intimates the conditions under which the establishment of a Roman dictatorship might be the only dignified—though highly lamentable—course for the Confederacy to pursue.

Whether this letter is candid or not is a question of interpretation. Certainly it is part of the evidence that Benjamin rather than Davis was author of the scheme. It helps to confirm the impression that Benjamin was practically, during its last stage, the Confederacy's premier, the originator to a great extent of its policy. We shall not

¹ Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, p. 349.

² B. S. Williams, "Memoirs of a Soldier in the War between States", *Charleston News and Courier*, March 10, 1912.

³ D. S. Freeman, *Calendar of Confederate Papers*, pp. 181 and 182.

⁴ *Official Records of the War*, fourth series, III. 959.

be surprised therefore when we find that the opposition to his negro scheme became entangled with a movement to compel his resignation. But this anticipates events.

The first great monument to the debate upon the arming of the slaves is a passage in the President's message to Congress, November 7, 1864.⁵ This message is often misquoted. Frequently it is said that he asked Congress to give him 40,000 slaves to be used as soldiers, with a promise of emancipation at the end of their service. His actual request was for 40,000 slave laborers. His remarks upon the subject of negro soldiers were as follows:

I must dissent from those who advise a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. Until our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require and can afford to keep in the field, to employ as a soldier the negro . . . would scarcely be deemed wise or advantageous by any, and this is the question now before us. But should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision.

There the matter rested during the next three months. However, there was wide-spread anxiety on the subject. The *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, newspaper files, and personal recollections, all confirm the tradition that the subject was generally discussed during the last winter of Confederate history. It parted itself into three distinct questions: Should the slaves be given arms under any circumstances? If used as soldiers, should they be promised emancipation? Should whatever was done—if anything—be done by the Confederate or by the state governments? Because it comprised these three distinct questions, discussion of it inevitably was tortuous, with considerable ebb and flow. Furthermore the whole matter was complicated by a popular suspicion that the President was aiming at dictatorship. Davis urged Congress to clothe him with authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus⁶ and his enemies construed this request in the most sinister way. In the light of what we now know of the views of his premier, we cannot dismiss the popular guess as lightly as once seemed permissible.

Some time between November 7, 1864, and March 13, 1865, Davis became a convert to the scheme to enroll slaves as soldiers. At what time this happened is still to be determined. On the latter date, however, shortly after Congress had finally decided to allow the enrollment of negroes, Davis communicated to it this criticism:⁷

⁵ *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, IV. 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 704.

The bill for employing negroes as soldiers has not yet reached me, though the printed journals of your proceedings inform me of its passage. Much benefit is anticipated from this measure, though far less than would have resulted from its adoption at an earlier date, so as to afford time for their organization and instruction during the winter months.

This message made the Senate indignant and "so much thereof as relates to the action of Congress" was referred to a special committee of five, consisting of Orr, Graham, Semmes, Caperton, and Watson.⁸ On the sixteenth, this committee reported.⁹

That a law so radical in its character, so repugnant to the prejudices of our people [says the report], and so intimately affecting the organism of society, should encounter opposition and receive a tardy sanction, ought not to excite surprise, but if the policy and necessity of the measure had been seriously urged on Congress by an Executive message, legislative action might have been quickened. The President, in no official communication to Congress, has recommended the passage of a law putting slaves into the Army as soldiers, and the message under consideration is the first official information that such a law would meet his approval.

Nevertheless, newspaper paragraphs printed that winter make it plain that the popular mind had formed the idea long before that a slave army was among the intentions of the government. Apparently the message of November 7 was interpreted as a "feeler" to take the sense of the country relative to a plan already decided upon. That bitter opponent of Davis, the *Charleston Mercury*, took for granted early in the winter that the President had made up his mind, and was in favor of enrolling slaves. A message of Governor Smith of Virginia, who also appears to have taken it for granted, and who spoke favorably with regard to it, was sharply criticized by the *Mercury*.¹⁰ The defeat of Hood, in the desperate battle of Franklin, caused a natural increase of interest in all schemes to reinforce the army, and a Richmond correspondent wrote the *Mercury* that as a consequence the question of negro troops was getting favorable consideration.¹¹ Presently we find Prentiss, the famous editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, making public declaration that Davis intended to arm 200,000 slaves, promising liberty to themselves and their families.¹² It seems hardly fanciful to say that the possibility of this black army hung over the Southern mind, that

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 707.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 726-727.

¹⁰ December 12, 1864.

¹¹ January 4, 1865.

¹² Quoted in the *Mercury*, January 21, 1865.

dreadful winter, a veritable shadow of despair. A pathetic attempt to lay the spectre was a resolution proposed in the House of Representatives, to cease agitating the subject of employing negro troops, "a measure which has already divided public sentiment and produced much despondency".¹³

The agitation gradually gathered strength. Lee aided it with his great influence. In a letter to Andrew Hunter,¹⁴ written during January, 1865, he discussed the situation with admirable penetration and lucidity. Though still holding that slavery under existing racial conditions was the best solution of the problem of black and white in the South, he concluded that military necessity compelled its abandonment. Black troops were needed, and military service must be followed by their emancipation; and that, in time, by a general abolition of slavery. The South must accept conditions and make the best of them. However, Congress did not take definite action on the subject until February, 1865. On the sixth of that month, Moore of Kentucky moved in the House to consider the expediency of empowering the President to call negroes into the field.¹⁵ An attempt to table the motion was lost by a close vote.¹⁶ The Congressional battle over the enrollment of negroes as troops had begun. Moore's motion was referred to the committee on military affairs.¹⁷

The next day, in the Senate, a resolution was submitted, which forms a truly pathetic landmark in Confederate history.¹⁸

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to report a bill with the least practicable delay, to take into the military service of the Confederate States a number of negro soldiers, not to exceed two hundred thousand, by voluntary enlistment, with the consent of their owners, or by conscription, as may be found necessary; and that the committee provide in said bill for the emancipation of said negroes in all cases where they prove loyal and true to the end of the war, and for the immediate payment, under proper restrictions, of their full present value to their owners.

It is to be observed that this resolution forced the issue on all three of the questions involved. It proposed to arm the slaves, to promise them freedom, and to commit the whole matter to the Confederate government. Davis probably was now prepared to take high ground on all three propositions—also, as it turned out, were three senators, Brown, Henry, and Vest. But the remainder of the senators present, thirteen in all, went against them.¹⁹

¹³ *Journals*, VII. 526.

¹⁴ *Official Records*, fourth series, III. 1012.

¹⁵ *Journals*, VII. 542.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 526.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

From the seventh of the month until the tenth, no further action was taken in either house of Congress. During this time the President continued an official silence. Secretary Benjamin, on the contrary, came forward as official advocate of the measure. On the night of February 9, he made his last political address.²⁰ The substance of it may be gathered from a letter²¹ which he wrote to Lee two days afterward. He had spoken, he said, with regard to the "necessity of instant re-enforcement for your army", proposing "that those slaves only who might volunteer to fight for their freedom, should be at once sent to the trenches". The proposition met with "decided favor from the meeting". And then comes the significant remark that, nevertheless, opposition had again gathered strength, and had raised the cry that such a course would "disband the army by reason of the violent aversion of the troops to have negroes in the field with them. . . . If we could get from the army", said Benjamin in conclusion, "an expression of its desire to be re-enforced by such negroes as for the boon of freedom will volunteer to go to the front, the measure will pass without further delay, and we may yet be able to give you such a force as will enable you to assume the offensive."

Why Benjamin was put forward, at this juncture, as the administration spokesman, is a mystery. To be sure he was the chief author of the scheme, but this fact hardly bears upon the question. He was also excessively unpopular. Two entries in the Congressional *Journals* form an unequivocal record of the hostility he had inspired in Congress. Resolutions introduced into the House, February 15, severely condemned him for recent remarks touching Congress and the army. The resolutions went so far as to call his language "derogatory to his position as a high public functionary of the Confederate Government, a reflection on the motives of Congress as a deliberative body, and an insult to public opinion".²² A vote on these resolutions showed that a third of the House approved them.²³ About the same time, February 13, the Senate divided evenly on a resolution "declaring that the retirement of the Hon. Judah P. Benjamin from the State Department will be subservient of the public interests".²⁴ It seems safe to conclude that the administration made a blunder in permitting Benjamin's speech.

The Confederate Congress has received so little attention, hitherto, that its inner workings are still unknown to us. A tragic

²⁰ Butler, *Benjamin*, p. 350.

²¹ *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 2, p. 1229.

²² *Journals*, VII, 582.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 550, 552, 553. The phraseology was modified in the course of the debate.

study in historical psychology doubtless lies beneath the bare formality of its *Journals*; its vacillation forms an amazing spectacle, which as yet challenges explanation in vain. After voting down, by such a large majority, the resolution of February 7, the Senate, on the tenth, permitted the introduction of a bill—S. 190—to provide for the raising of 200,000 negro troops,²⁵ and a week later considered an amendment empowering the War Department to manumit slave soldiers providing it had the consent of the state in which the slaves would be at the date of the proposed manumission.²⁶ This bill however—though it seems to be the source of an erroneous tradition²⁷—was not destined to become law. On February 21, by a vote of eleven to ten, it was indefinitely postponed.

It is easy to see why the bill was dropped. To begin with, the opposition in the Senate was very strong. Long afterward, Davis made the assertion that "a chief obstacle" to the adoption of this bill, was the opposition of Senator R. M. T. Hunter.²⁸ In retort the senator said:²⁹

That my opposition to this bill was some obstacle to its passage I had supposed, but that it was a chief obstacle, I had not imagined. I say this not to avoid the responsibility of opposition to that ill-starred measure. I wish I could have defeated it altogether, for I regard its approach to a passage as a stain upon Confederate history. It afforded, I believe, plausible ground against them for the accusation of falsehood in professing to secede from the United States Government, in part, and mainly on the plea that it was, by reason of their fear that the party in power would emancipate the negroes in defiance of the constitution. . . . And now it would be said we had done the very thing . . . without any more constitutional right than they would have had.

And yet in opposition to Hunter was the known fact that Lee favored arming the negro. However, to find the real clew to the willingness of the Senate to drop its measure, one must consider what had recently taken place in the House. The Senate bill, which

²⁵ *Journals*, IV, 543.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 572-573. The bill had been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, by which the manumission amendment was reported, February 17. The *Journals* do not reveal the precise significance of this amendment as the original text of the bill is not to be found in them. Neither are they absolutely explicit as to what was the history of the amendment. There are details in the entry for February 17 that make it seem fragmentary. It remains to be determined whether the "ill-starred measure", condemned by Hunter in the quotation which follows above, was the bill as first read or this amendment.

²⁷ This tradition, met with in numerous places, finds such expression as this: "The reluctant Confederate Congress debated long in secret session and did not pass a bill for arming and emancipating 200,000 slaves until March 10th." Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens (American Crisis Biographies)*, p. 271.

²⁸ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, IV, 209.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

came to its end in that indefinite postponement, appears to have got confused in the minds of most students with quite a different measure that ultimately became law. It was the unsuccessful Senate bill—to which Hunter was “a chief obstacle”—not the House bill, now to be considered, to which may be traced the groundless story that the Confederate Congress authorized Davis to raise an army of 200,000 negroes on the promise of manumission. That, as we have seen, Hunter and his following prevented.

The successful bill—H. R. 367—was introduced by Barksdale, of Mississippi, on the same day that saw the introduction of the ill-starred Senate bill.³⁰ The House referred it to a “select committee of one from each State”.³¹

Like Benjamin, at about the same date, Barksdale wrote to Lee for advice. His letter was dated on February 12. Lee replied on the eighteenth. He wrote: “I think the measure not only expedient but necessary. The enemy will certainly use them against us if he can get possession of them. . . . I think those who are employed should be freed. It would be neither just nor wise, in my opinion, to require them to serve as slaves.”³² After a parliamentary battle over amendments, H. R. 367 was passed.³³ It was on the following day, after receiving this bill from the House, that the Senate postponed its own bill indefinitely.³⁴ At this point we encounter again that inexplicable dilatoriness of the Congress of the Confederacy. When every hour was precious, when something—one thing or another—should have been ordered at once, the Senate had wavered over its own bill during eleven days. During that time Columbia had gone up in smoke. The House bill was now to be kept waiting fifteen days more. In this period Sherman reached the borders of North Carolina. Would that we had a satisfactory clew to the psychology of the Confederate Senate during these dreadful weeks, when the wave of fire which was Sherman’s advance moved steadily toward Richmond!

Why the Senate abandoned its own bill and took up the measure submitted by the House, now becomes plain. The latter bill evaded the constitutional difficulties that plagued the legal conscience of the Senate. The great discussion in the House had ended in excluding altogether from the proposed scheme the issue of emancipation. It increased the number contemplated to “three hundred thousand troops, in addition to those subject to military service under existing

³⁰ *Journals*, VII. 562.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² J. D. McCabe, *Life of Lee*, pp. 574-575.

³³ February 20, 1865. Yeas 40, nays 37. *Journals*, VII. 613-614.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 585.

laws . . . to be raised from such classes of the population, irrespective of color, in each State as the proper authorities thereof may determine".³⁵ The President was authorized to call upon each state for its quota under this law. The Senate amended the bill, providing that the levy in any one state should not exceed twenty-five per cent. of the state's slave population.³⁶ The House accepted the amendment, and the bill was passed, March 9.³⁷ It had been under discussion, since Barksdale introduced it, no less than twenty-seven days.

To repeat, the dilatoriness of Congress is a psychological mystery yet to be solved. Allowing for all the repugnance the measure naturally inspired, how are we to excuse the Congress for having such uncertain knowledge of its own mind? Fiddling while Rome was burning, really does not seem too harsh a verdict. The form of the measure is not so surely deserving of censure. To be sure Professor Dodd, in his recent remarkable life of Davis, apparently considers it a contemptible measure, one quite unworthy of the greatness of the problem of Confederate defense. He dismisses it as a "lame" enactment, the work of a "panicky" Congress.³⁸ But Professor Dodd, very naturally, has observed the episode from the President's point of view. Somewhat similar was the attitude of Lee's contemporaneous biographer, J. D. McCabe, who made the charge long ago, that Congress "studiously set aside the recommendation of General Lee".³⁹ McCabe added that "the negro . . . was to be forced to fight for his own captivity". That brilliant but ungenerous persecutor of Davis, Pollard, writes scornfully of the "emasculated measure" which he asserts bore no fruit except two companies of rather ridiculous negro recruits about which, in Pollard's description, there is a savor of opera bouffe:⁴⁰

Two companies of blacks, organized from some negro vagabonds in Richmond, which were allowed to give balls at the Libbey Prison and were exhibited in fine fresh uniforms on Capitol Square as decoys to

³⁵ *Journals*, VII, 611-612; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VI, 487.

³⁶ *Journals*, IV, 670-671. Thus amended the bill passed the Senate by a vote 9 to 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 729.

³⁸ To defend the Congress would be a great undertaking. And yet I cannot but feel that Professor Dodd is too severe. His point of view is the modern one; he ignores the distinction between Confederate and state politics. He treats the matter as a single problem whereas the old view treated it as a dual one. I must be allowed to enter my plea for a revival of the older mode of treatment. Without it I cannot see how we are to conceive the men of that day in their true political perspective. For Professor Dodd's position, see his *Jefferson Davis*, ch. xxi.

³⁹ McCabe, *Life of Lee*, p. 576.

⁴⁰ Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, VI, 488, quoting Pollard's *Life of Davis*, p. 456.

obtain recruits. But the mass of their colored brethren looked on the parade with unenvious eyes, and little boys exhibited the early prejudices of race by pelting the fine uniforms with mud.

Pollard, it should be remembered, is always to be taken with a grain of salt.

These extravagant condemnations omit from consideration three things—the guessing of the Congress with regard to the secret intentions of the President and Benjamin; the reality of state patriotism; and the last paragraph of Lee's letter to Barksdale. So illuminating is the latter that it should be spread upon the record. Lee wrote:⁴¹

I have no doubt that if Congress would authorize their [the negroes'] reception into service, and empower the President to call upon individuals or States for such as they are willing to contribute, with the condition of emancipation to all enrolled, a sufficient number would be forthcoming to enable us to try the experiment [of determining whether the slaves would make good soldiers]. If it proved successful, most of the objections to the measure would disappear, and if individuals still remained unwilling to send their negroes to the army, the force of public opinion in the States would soon bring about such legislation as would remove all obstacles. I think the matter should be left, as far as possible, to the people and the States, which alone can legislate as the necessities of this particular service may require.

This letter, apparently, is confused in the minds of some writers with that other written a month previously to Andrew Hunter, of Virginia. Those who confuse the two letters forget that the Hunter letter was addressed to a member of the Virginia legislature, while the letter to Barksdale was intended to guide a member of the Confederate Congress. Because Lee had concluded that emancipation was now the final hope of the South, it does not follow that he would have tolerated it if attempted by the Confederate Congress in defiance of his own state. The letter to Barksdale was written at headquarters on the eighteenth; the bill passed the House on the twentieth. Considered in the light of the Barksdale correspondence may it not be construed as the acceptance by Congress of what it understood to be Lee's wishes? If the House took the matter calmly, deliberately, so did Lee. If the House regarded the situation as one in which "experiment" was still possible, so did Lee. If the House carefully guarded the authority of the states and shut the door against overruling Confederate action, what else could be inferred as the settled conviction of the leader it trusted above all others? If, on one point—the definite invitation to the states to consent to manumission of slaves owned by the Confederate govern-

⁴¹ McCabe, *Life of Lee*, p. 575.

ment—the House was silent, at least it did not set up any barriers to manumission but left the whole matter of the future of slave soldiers to state action. To charge it with studiously disregarding the advice of Lee is extravagant. The sin of the Congress in this connection remains its dilatoriness.

As we have seen, the passing of the act led to bitterness between the President and the Senate. When Davis wrote the message of March 13 reproving Congress for its delay, he was undoubtedly in an overstrained nervous condition. For this, besides the general tension of the moment, there are at least three causes clearly to be discerned. He was now anxious to enlist the slaves. He was involved in a diplomatic tangle from which he was not destined to emerge successful. But there was a third cause of anxiety which has not as yet received attention from any of his biographers. To understand it we must leave momentarily the politics of the Confederacy as a whole and glance at the politics of Virginia.

While Congress had fought to a finish its battle over the enrollment of slaves the same issue had been dealt with locally by Virginia. In the course of the latter discussion Lee fully revealed himself in his overlooked capacity of statesman. Whether his abilities as a statesman equalled his ability as a soldier does not here concern us. It is well known that he had no high opinion of them himself. However, in the advice he gave at this final moment of crisis he expressed a definite conception of the articulation of civil forces in a system like that of the Confederacy. He held that all initiative in legislation should remain with the separate states—that the function of the general government was to administer, not to create, conditions—and that the proper power to constrain the separate state legislatures was the flexible extra-legal power of public opinion. Therefore when Congress, accepting practically these views, threw the burden of the military problem on the shoulders of the states, the test of Lee's influence began. Here again, as at several other points in this singular drama, an erroneous tradition has become established. Even so careful a student as Mr. Bradford, whose fine work on Lee deserves such high praise, has for once affirmed an error, saying that "nothing shows more clearly Lee's immense influence than the fact that he was able to persuade his countrymen to accept his view" of the matter of negro enrollment. It will be plain in a moment that this statement is far too unconditional.

Long before the Barksdale act was passed—in fact even before it was introduced—Lee had formulated his programme, and a test of its adequacy to the conditions of the moment was going forward.

Side by side with the struggle in Congress, went the still more momentous struggle in the politics of Virginia. Its issue was the question—anticipating Lee's later words—whether "the force of public opinion in the States would soon bring about such legislation as would render effective the arming of the slaves". Obviously emancipation was the condition of its effectiveness. Without the promise of emancipation the scheme justified McCabe's sneer, "that it commanded the negro to fight for his own captivity". Whatever may be said on constitutional grounds, in defense of the refusal of Congress to demand emancipation, such defense had no significance in connection with a state. For the state no constitutional difficulty existed. A state legislature, considering what to do in response to the invitations of the act, had nothing to consider but a question of policy. Thus the issue ceased to be constitutional, and became purely political. Did the line of policy advocated by Lee carry sufficient weight to direct the political action of the states? Specifically, of his own state of Virginia?

Here it is well to refresh one's memory as to just what that policy was. Setting aside, now, all advice he gave to Congress, let us concentrate attention upon the advice he gave Virginia. Let us go back to the letter he wrote to Andrew Hunter, the Virginia senator. There we find Lee's view of the situation in terms of pure policy with all its constitutional bearings omitted. The letter which called forth Lee's reply is also well worth preservation.⁴²

I refer [wrote Hunter] to the great question now stirring the public mind as to the expediency and propriety of bringing to bear against our relentless enemy the element of military strength supposed to be found in our negro population. . . .

But it is not to be disguised that public sentiment is greatly divided on the subject; and besides many real objections, a mountain of prejudices growing out of our ancient modes of regarding the institution of Southern slavery will have to be met and overcome before we can attain to anything like that degree of unanimity so extremely desirable in this and all else connected with our great struggle. . . .

Pardon me, therefore, for asking, to be used not only for my own guidance, but publicly as the occasion may require [various questions which fill the latter part of the letter].

To this Lee replied:

Considering the relation of master and slave, controlled by humane laws and influenced by Christianity and an enlightened public sentiment, as the best that can exist between the white and black races while intermingled as at present in this country, I would deprecate any sudden disturbance of that relation unless it be necessary to avert a greater calamity to both. . . .

⁴² *Official Records*, fourth series, III. 1008, 1012-1013.

Should the war continue under existing circumstances, the enemy may in course of time penetrate our country and get access to a large part of our negro population. It is his avowed policy to convert the able-bodied men among them into soldiers, and to emancipate all. . . . His progress will thus add to his numbers, and at the same time destroy slavery in a manner most pernicious to the welfare of our people. Their negroes will be used to hold them in subjection, leaving the remaining force of the enemy free to extend his conquests. Whatever may be the effect of our employing negro troops, it cannot be as mischievous as this. If it end in subverting slavery it will be accomplished by ourselves, and we can devise the means of alleviating the evil consequences to both races. I think, therefore, we must decide whether slavery shall be extinguished by our enemies and the slaves be used against us, or use them ourselves at the risk of the effects which may be produced upon our social institutions. . . .

The reasons that induce me to recommend the employment of negro troops at all render the effect of the measures . . . upon slavery immaterial, and in my opinion the best means of securing the efficiency and fidelity of this auxiliary force would be to accompany the measure with a well-digested plan of gradual and general emancipation. As that will be the result of the continuance of the war, and will certainly occur if the enemy succeed, it seems to me most advisable to adopt it at once, and thereby obtain all the benefits that will accrue to our cause. . . .

I can only say in conclusion, that whatever measures are to be adopted should be adopted at once. Every day's delay increases the difficulty. Much time will be required to organize and discipline the men, and action may be deferred until it is too late.⁴³

These words were penned, January 11. It is to be borne in mind that they urged immediate action by Virginia at a time when there was no certain evidence that Congress would act at all. It did not occur to Lee that Virginia should wait to receive the guidance of Congress. In urging the policy of emancipation through legislative action he spoke as a Virginian only. Too often this fact is forgotten.

During the next sixty days, Lee rejected two great opportunities—or, if you will, put aside two great temptations. Circumstantial evidence seems to affirm the tradition that a Congressional cabal definitely proposed to him some such rôle as that of Cromwell and the Long Parliament. If the proposition was really made, the remainder of the tradition—his somewhat haughty refusal—goes without saying. Thus Lee withdrew himself from active intervention in general Confederate politics. But there was going forward, at that same time, another political crisis which presented itself to Lee as a totally different matter. There was a crisis in Virginia politics, overlooked hitherto by historians, which was quite as far reaching as the other crisis in the general politics of the whole Confederacy.

⁴³ Surely Mr. Bradford errs in saying that Congress took action "in response" to this letter. He confuses it with the letter to Barksdale written a month later in a very different vein.

What if Virginia had accepted the views of Lee as outlined in the letter to Andrew Hunter? What if Virginia had thrown herself, with all her vast influence, vehemently on the side of instant execution of those views? A change in the balance of forces throughout the Confederacy must certainly have resulted. That the course of Southern history would have changed had Lee seen fit to seize either of his opportunities can hardly be doubted. "Wanted—a Cromwell", would not be inappropriate as a description of the Confederacy, and, incidentally, of Virginia, at the opening of 1865. Whether even a Cromwellian assumption could then have saved the day is a speculation the answer to which will test, probably, the degree of military audacity inherent in the speculator. To imagine, however, that Lee whether as militarist or as political manager, would ever have consented to play the rôle of Cromwell, is to miss the central law of his being. The arth-idealist, he was as incapable of accepting the power offered to him by circumstances as Cromwell, such a different type of man, would have been incapable of refusing it. Whether this was a fault in him or a virtue, a limitation or a sublimity, is not to be discussed in parentheses. All that here concerns us is the fact that he withheld himself from Virginia politics no less than from Confederate politics. He contented himself with drawing up his remarkable state paper, the letter to Hunter, and left the execution of his programme—or its defeat—to the unembarrassed action of his people. For himself, politically speaking, he maintained a splendid isolation at the head of the armies.

Virginia took position as to Lee's programme, March 6. While the Barksdale bill was still before the Senate, the Virginia legislature enacted a law providing for the enrollment of slaves as soldiers. It made no mention of emancipation. Of its three sections, only one was significant. It was phrased thus:⁴⁴

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That it shall be lawful for all free negroes and slaves, who may be organized as soldiers, now or at any time hereafter by the State or the Confederate Government, for the public defense during the present war with the United States, to bear arms while in active military service, and carry ammunition as other soldiers in the Army.

It would be interesting to know whether Davis was informed of this law when he sent his sharp rebuke to Congress on March 13. At that date emancipation was perhaps the chief article in his policy. He and Benjamin had decided upon that desperate last stroke of theirs, the proposition to free the slaves as the price of European

⁴⁴ *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 3, p. 1315.

intervention. Davis was waiting daily, in tense anxiety, for news from Paris. The two laws—the Barksdale act and the Virginia act—between them demonstrated that his diplomatic bargain, if accepted by Napoleon and Palmerston, could not be carried into effect without a vigorous political campaign against great odds; it could not be put into instant effect without something amounting to a *coup d'état*.

As is well known Davis was still vainly watching for hopeful news from Europe when the Confederacy fell. There is also evidence that he was exerting himself to build up a party favorable to emancipation. In this it is plain that he had powerful allies, as is evinced by a letter from him to Governor Smith of Virginia: "I am happy to receive your assurance of success [in raising black troops], as well as your promise to seek legislation to secure unmistakable freedom to the slave who shall enter the Army, with a right to return to his old home, when he shall have been honorably discharged from military service."⁴⁵

Had time permitted, the double political crisis of March, 1865, would not only have closed but opened a chapter in Confederate history. Paradoxical as it sounds, the Confederate government, at that moment, needed time even more than men—time to draw its people together in a new régime based on the programme of Lee, time to work out Lee's plan of gradually constraining the state legislatures through public opinion, time to bargain with Europe on the basis of emancipation. But time was just what the Washington government was determined the Confederacy should not have. The relentlessness with which it hurried events forward takes new meaning when, from within the Confederacy, in the light of Lee's programme, we reflect upon the value of a little more time to the Confederate cause.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

⁴⁵ *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 3, p. 1366.

DOCUMENTS

Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825, I.

OF the following documents the greater number, to wit, numbers III., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XIII., and XIV. of the present installment, and all but the second and last two of the ensuing installment, have been placed at the service of the REVIEW by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor to the Massachusetts Historical Society, who some years ago obtained them, in copies, from the Central Archives at St. Petersburg. It appeared plain to the managing editor, upon examination of the documents thus kindly presented by Mr. Ford, despatches sent to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs by two successive ministers of Russia at Washington, that they required to be supplemented by printing with them any important communications which came during the same period from the ministry to the envoys. By the kindness of His Excellency the Imperial Russian Ambassador, Mr. George Bakhmétiqueff, to whom as well as to Mr. Ford grateful acknowledgments are here made, he has been permitted to make full search in the archives of the embassy for the years in question, and has extracted from them the documents numbered I., II., IV., XI., XII., XV., and XVI., together with the second and the last two documents appearing in the second installment of these papers.

Of the documents thus added, the instructions from Capodistrias and Nesselrode to Polética, numbered I., II., and XI., and those to Tuyl, numbered XV. and XVI., will doubtless be found most important and interesting. They cast a clear light upon the policy of Russia with respect to the Spanish-American colonies and with respect to the affairs of the Russian-American Company and the limits of Russian power upon the Northwest Coast. They have thus a certain value as contributions to the history of the genesis of the Monroe Doctrine.

The despatches of the envoys, on the other hand, present an interesting narrative of the negotiations upon these subjects at Washington, as they appeared to the representatives of Russia, and in a good number of instances give their versions of the same conversations which are reported to us, from the other point of view, in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*. Adams's former residence in St. Petersburg, 1809-1814, it may be observed, was of great advantage

toward amicable and intelligent discussion with the two Russian ministers.

Pierre de Polética was, like Capodistrias, of Greek extraction.¹ He had been at Washington in 1810-1812 as a secretary under Count Pahlen.² The first suggestion of his appointment had been made by Pozzo di Borgo, who, writing to Nesselrode in 1817 of some annoying indiscretions of the Russian minister in Brazil, which had compelled his recall, complains that Russia has not a man of sense to represent her in the whole New World, and proceeds to suggest that Polética be sent out to Washington.³ He arrived in that capital on May 24, 1819.⁴

Major-General Baron de Tuyll van Serooskerken came from an ancient and noble Dutch family. He had been designated for the mission to the United States in 1817⁵ and had received instructions for the purpose, but Polética was sent, and Tuyll went to the legation in Lisbon.

It may be proper to explain that Russian foreign affairs were in the joint charge of Nesselrode and Capodistrias. The former was "Secrétaire d'État dirigeant le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères"; Capodistrias was "Secrétaire d'État près de la personne de Sa Majesté Impériale".

It is believed that none of these documents has been published except a translation of most of number IV.⁶ and a brief extract from number XV.⁷

I. CAPODISTRIS TO POLÉTICA.

VARSOVIE, 18 Avril 1818.⁸

Monsieur,

En prenant connoissance de Votre dépeche du 27 Fevrier, l'Empereur a daigné apprécier le zèle et la sagacité qui vous portent à désirer des directions supplémentaires sur l'objet que vous soumettez à Sa haute décision.

¹ Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, p. 313. Canning gives some amusing personal traits of the clever Greek.

² Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London* (ed. 1833), p. 140, and J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, II. 406.

³ *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs et Ministres de la Russie en France et de la France en Russie avec leurs Gouvernements*, II. 315.

⁴ Adams, *Memoirs*, II. 370.

⁵ See XV., below, and Adams, IV. 68, who however speaks of 1818.

⁶ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 676, and *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1402.

⁷ Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 312-313.

⁸ Apparently O. S., April 18/30. Capodistrias was at Warsaw in attendance upon the czar, who had just opened the diet of the kingdom of Poland with a famous speech. The letter bears a note in Russian indicating that it was received by Polética, presumably at Paris, on April 29/May 11, 1818.

Vos observations, jointes à celles que nous venons de recevoir du Ministre de Sa Majesté Impériale à Paris, et de son ambassadeur à Londres,⁹ nous donnent assez la mesure de l'importance de votre Mission à Washington, surtout si les négociations vouées à l'arrangement du différend existant entre l'Espagne et le Portugal,¹⁰ ainsi qu'à la pacification des Colonies, venoient à manquer complètement leur but.

La république des Etats Unis sympathise avec les Colonies insurgées; et son Gouvernement, comme vous l'observez avec justesse, se verra engagé, si ce n'est par son propre mouvement, du moins par l'influence de la volonté nationale, à soutenir les efforts, que feront les peuples du Midi de l'autre hémisphère, pour s'élever à la dignité d'Etats libres et indépendans.

Dans la supposition donc, que la médiation ne parvient à aucun résultat, et que les Cours intéressées et intervenantes, par la divergence inconciliable de leurs opinions, laissent encore longtemps indécises les deux questions dont elles semblent s'occuper actuellement, nul doute que le Gouvernement Américain, voyant ainsi un champ très-vaste ouvert aux combinaisons auxquelles les intérêts exclusifs et toutes les ambitions peuvent donner lieu, ne soit empressé de connoître:

1°. Si la Russie est libre de tout engagement quelconque, et si elle peut conséquemment rester spectatrice impartiale et inactive des événemens;

2°. Si elle seroit disposée à prendre part, même indirectement, au système des Etats-Unis, et à favoriser ainsi l'affranchissement des Colonies Espagnoles, en leur promettant de les reconnoître libres et indépendantes;

3°. Si une guerre venoit à éclater à ce sujet entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis ou bien entre cette république et l'Angleterre, quelle seroit l'attitude que prendre la Russie?

Ces trois questions semblent embrasser toutes celles, dont Mr. Adams d'une part, peut désirer de vous entretenir, et sur lesquelles, de l'autre, Mr. d'Onis, Ministre d'Espagne,¹¹ peut vouloir entendre ou faire entendre votre opinion.

Les erremens que nous allons tracer ici vous mettront à même, Monsieur, de parler à l'un et à l'autre le langage le plus conforme aux intentions de l'Empereur, et peut-être le plus utile à la cause commune.

Première Question.

La Russie n'a point d'engagemens particuliers avec aucune Puissance; —et n'est nullement disposée à en contracter, parce qu'elle veut demeurer pour sa part religieusement et invariablement fidèle à ceux, dont l'ensemble constitue le système général de l'Europe.

Les traités de Paris et de Vienne des années 1814 et 1815, ainsi que l'acte du 14/26 Septembre,¹² forment la base unique et immuable de la politique de Sa Majesté Impériale.

⁹ From Pozzo di Borgo and Lieven. That of the former is probably the despatch of March 24/April 5 to Capodistrias printed in *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs*, II. 633. These present instructions to Polética were communicated to Pozzo di Borgo. *Ibid.*, II. 716.

¹⁰ Over the questions of Olivenza and the Banda Oriental.

¹¹ Don Luis de Onis, minister of Spain at Washington from 1809 to 1819.

¹² September 26, 1815. The document called the Holy Alliance.

En partant de là, il vous sera facile d'établir avec précision et droiture le principe que nous prenons pour régulateur de notre conduite, soit que les négociations déferées à la conférence de Paris¹³ aient une issue satisfaisante, soit que, dans une hypothèse contraire, les cours intéressés et médiatrices embrassent des systèmes divergens ou opposés.

Reconcilier l'Espagne avec le Portugal, et ensuite pacifier les Colonies par l'ascendant seul de l'unanimité éclairée et impartiale des principaux Cabinets: telle est la pensée unique de notre mémoire du 17 Novembre.¹⁴

Elle ne pouvait point être d'une nature différente, attendu que le premier besoin, comme le plus grand intérêt de l'Espagne et du Portugal, aussi bien que des Puissances médiatrices, consiste à maintenir la paix et l'alliance générale, et à écarter soigneusement tous les motifs qui peuvent en relâcher ou rompre les liens.

Les résultats des conférences de Paris nous apprendront, jusqu'à quel point les Cabinets ont jugé convenable d'apprécier cette vérité.

C'est en puisant à cette source d'informations, qu'il nous sera permis de fonder notre opinion sur les futurs contingens.

Tant que Sa Majesté Impériale pourra espérer de faire prévaloir l'influence simultanée et unanime, mais impartiale et surtout désintéressée, des Cabinets Alliés, dans la décision de ces grandes questions, Elle ne négligera aucun moyen de persuasion pour atteindre ce but éminent.

Lorsque nul effort ne pourra plus être employé, nous aurons alors une somme suffisante de données, pour juger, de quel côté on diverge du système général, et quelles sont les prétentions qui rendent incompatible le maintien de ce système salulaire avec la conciliation des intérêts qui font l'objet de la médiation.

Où l'Espagne et le Portugal, ainsi que l'Angleterre, divergent également, en ne voulant point se désister de leurs prétentions exclusives et isolées,—ou bien l'une ou l'autre de ces Puissances fait preuve de modération.

Dans l'une de ces hypothèses comme dans l'autre, nous ne précipiterons aucune résolution. Mais en dernière analyse, s'il s'agira de se prononcer, l'Empereur n'hésitera point, dans le second cas, à soutenir les Puissances, dont l'adhésion au système général aura été invariable, et par l'intention et par le fait. Et dans le premier, fermement décidée à ne provoquer de son propre mouvement aucune combinaison exclusive, Sa Majesté Impériale prendra l'attitude qui pourra, par la force des choses, ramener, du consentement de Ses Alliés, l'accord général et unanime, que la force seule de la raison n'a pu maintenir.

Seconde question.

Nous ignorons le système du Gouvernement Américain. Cet Etat ne fait point partie de l'association générale. Il n'a point témoigné le désir de participer à l'acte du 1^{er} Septembre. Il ne nous appartient point

¹³ Conférence of the ambassadors in Paris of Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia—Pozzo di Borgo, Stuart, Vincent, Goltz—which had been constantly maintained since 1815, and had of late been charged with mediation in the disputes between Spain and Portugal. Its protocols for the period of this letter are in *Correspondance Politique*, vol. II.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 474-482. "Mémoire à communiquer aux puissances intéressées, ainsi qu'aux cabinets des puissances médiatrices." See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 446.

de relever ce fait, que lorsque le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis voudra prendre connoissance de la politique de Sa Majesté Impériale.

En se prononçant à cet égard, il vous donnera la mesure de la confiance qu'il désire vous inspirer. Ses réticences régleront les vôtres, comme la franchise avec laquelle Mr. Adams s'ouvrira avec vous à ce sujet, vous engagera à ne lui laisser ignorer aucune des observations qui sont consignées dans vos instructions générales.¹⁵

Du moment que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis accédera à l'association fraternelle et Chrétienne de tous les Etats Européens, c'est alors qu'il acquiert le droit de faire cause commune avec eux dans toutes les entreprises, qui tendent à faire prévaloir et respecter les principes consacrés par cet acte.

Hors de ce contact, le Cabinet de l'Empereur ne peut en avoir aucun autre avec les Etats-Unis, au moyen duquel il puisse, en cas de besoin, agir comme leur allié, sans nuire ou être en contravention à l'alliance générale.

Quelle que soit l'issue de cette partie délicate de Votre Mission, Vous répondrez, Monsieur, avec vérité et candeur, aux questions qui vous seront adressées relativement aux Colonies Espagnoles.

A cet effet le Ministère Vous munira de la Copie de notre mémoire du 17 Novembre, ainsi que des dépêches qui furent envoyées à cette occasion à Mr. de Tatischeff.¹⁶

Pénétré de leur contenu, vous serez à même de prouver au Gouvernement Américain, que l'Empereur, en prenant part à la médiation (si la médiation aura lieu) est bien loin de vouloir contribuer par son influence, à ce que les Colonies soient assujetties à leur Mère Patrie, comme par le passé, savoir, d'après un système mercantile, et pour les avantages éphémères du Commerce de Cadix.

D'autre part, en désirant faire obtenir à ces immenses et riches contrées une existence civile et politique analogue à leurs progrès dans la civilisation, Sa Majesté Impériale n'est nullement autorisée à faire prospérer par son intervention directe ou indirecte, une pareille entreprise, indépendamment du Gouvernement Espagnol, ou dans des vues étrangères aux véritables et légitimes intérêts de cet Etat.

En ami et Allié de Sa Majesté Catholique, l'Empereur ne cessera point d'insister, pour que les Colonies obtiennent de leur Mère Patrie une administration fondée sur les principes d'une représentation nationale, et des libertés qui en dépendent.

Cette opinion n'est point subordonnée aux calculs de la politique. Elle est pure. Sa Majesté Impériale la puise dans sa conviction intime. Et rien ne le prouve plus que les institutions dont jouit le Royaume de Pologne, et le discours par lequel Sa Majesté Impériale vient d'ouvrir la session de sa législature actuelle.¹⁷ Vous en trouverez ci-joint des imprimés dont vous pouvez faire usage en cas de besoin.

Mais de cette conviction il ne dérive point le droit de forcer directement la volonté du Roi d'Espagne; moins encore de parvenir à ce résultat par une conduite oblique, c'est à dire en favorisant les progrès de l'insurrection de ses Colonies.

¹⁵ In conformity with this injunction, Polética read the next ensuing document to Adams, May 29, and this present one on November 24, 1819. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 378, 446.

¹⁶ Russian ambassador in Madrid. The despatch is summarized, *ibid.*, IV. 446.

¹⁷ See its text in *British and Foreign State Papers*, V. 1114-1116.

Les opinions fondées en justice ne changent jamais. Aussi celle que Sa Majesté Impériale a déjà prononcée, quant aux moyens de ramener les Colonies à leur Mère-Patrie, semble de nature à inspirer quelque confiance aux Gouvernemens qui sont appelés, par leurs relations avec ces contrées, à désirer plus particulièrement leur pacification, et à y coopérer dans des vues éclairées et libérales.

Nous aimons à espérer, que le Cabinet de Madrid les partagera de bonne foi. Et dans ce cas Sa Majesté Impériale contribuera de tous Ses efforts à les faire prévaloir.

Dans le cas contraire, la Cour de Russie restera dans l'attente des événemens. Forte de la conscience de ne les avoir point provoqués, Elle aura la pleine latitude de les considérer alors dans leur essence et dans leurs rapports.

Nous répéterons ici ce que nous avons dit plus haut : La force des choses décideroit dans une pareille hypothèse du sort des Colonies. Cette même force, dirigée constamment par la sagesse des Cabinets vers un but conservateur, rameneroit la concorde et l'union,—et conséquemment l'aveu unanime du rang que, dans l'ordre politique, occuperoient ces nouvelles contrées.

Troisième question.

Si la force des armes a terminé dans d'autres temps des questions politiques entre les Etats, nous doutons, qu'à cette époque elle puisse être employée comme *moyen sur* de terminer celles, que la voie des négociations n'auroit pû applanir.

Tous les Gouvernemens ont besoin de la paix et désirent la paix. Mais en est-il de même de cette grande majorité de la génération actuelle, qui est nourrie, élevée au métier des armes, et à laquelle les grandes catastrophes, qu'a subies l'Europe, donne une tendance excentrique, pour ne pas dire, révolutionnaire?

De cette situation générale il résulte, qu'une guerre quelconque, maritime ou continentale, peut provoquer un embrasement universel, durant lequel le Gouvernement, qui y auroit donné lieu, seroit peut-être le premier à expier sa faute, en ne recueillant aucun fruit de ses sacrifices.

Supposons que les Etats-Unis liés avec la Cour de Rio Janéiro,¹⁸ enlèvent à l'Espagne les provinces sur la Rive Orientale de la Plata et les Florides, et que, par l'action combinée de la politique de ces deux Cabinets, les Colonies fassent des progrès véritables vers leur affranchissement,—pourquoi l'Espagne à son tour, en déclarant formellement la guerre au Brésil et aux Etats-Unis, ne tâcheroit-elle pas de s'emparer du Portugal, et de soutenir, autant que les moyens peuvent le lui permettre, l'honneur de son pavillon sur mer? Or, une guerre générale en Europe, peut elle convenir à la prospérité des Etats-Unis? Ignorent-ils que c'est de la guerre dont notre continent a été ensanglanté durant ce dernier quart de siècle, que l'Europe et tous les véritables et grands intérêts des nations relèvent à peine?

Nous nous arrêtons ici.—Il vous appartient, Monsieur, de développer ces considérations et de faire connoître le point de vue, sous lequel l'Empereur envisageroit toute guerre quelconque, ou toute conduite politique, conçue dans l'intention de motiver la guerre, ou de lui procurer des coopérateurs.

¹⁸ John VI., king of Portugal and Brazil, still kept his court in Rio.

Ces directions sont générales. A Votre passage par Londres,²⁹ Vous tâcherez de Vous procurer des notions plus positives sur chacun des objets que nous venons d'examiner. Ce qu'il importe d'approfondir, est :

1°. Les rapports existans entre la Cour de St. James et celle de Rio Janéiro;

2°. Le système Britannique dans la grande question des Colonies Espagnoles;

3°. Enfin le parti que le Cabinet de St. James prendroit, si les Etats-Unis déclaroient la guerre à l'Espagne.

Nous attendrons sur ces trois points Vos observations. Elles motivent peut-être des instructions plus positives, que le Ministère, en cas de besoin, Vous fera parvenir à Washington.

La mission qui Vous est confiée, embrasse de grands intérêts.—Les intentions de l'Empereur Vous sont connues.—Il dépend de Vous de justifier la confiance dont il Vous honore.

Recevez l'assurance de la considération très-distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et
très-obéissant serviteur
CAPODISTRIAS.

VARSOVIE

le 18 Avril 1818

À Mr. le Conseiller d'Etat Actuel de Polética.

II. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Monsieur,

Le Ministère Impérial ne regrette nullement les circonstances qui Vous ont retenu jusqu'à présent en Europe.

Appelé à Aix-la-Chapelle, à la suite du désir que Vous en avez témoigné, Vous avez, pour ainsi dire, assisté aux Conférences qui viennent de finir.³⁰ Vous en connaissez les résultats, ainsi que les discussions qui les ont heureusement amenés.

Dépositaire de toutes ces notions, il Vous est réservé de les utiliser dans Vos relations avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

L'aperçu des négociations d'Aix-la-Chapelle, ainsi que les directions générales dont Sa Majesté Impériale se plaît à munir tous Ses Ministres dans l'Etranger, et que Vous recevez, ci-jointes, ne nous laissent plus qu'à tracer ici quelques erremens plus particulièrement relatifs à Votre Mission.

Vous connaissez maintenant le système général de l'Europe dans ses élémens, comme dans son ensemble. Dépouillé de tous les prestiges dont

²⁹ Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London*, p. 321, under date of July 30, 1818, speaks of meeting Polética at the French ambassador's. "So strongly, he said, were his instructions imbued with this spirit [of friendliness], that he would not scruple to read them to Mr. Adams, when he got to Washington. I learned, not from Mr. Poleticca but otherwise, that they related in part to the United States joining the Holy Alliance." See also Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 394.

³⁰ The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was in session from September 29 to November 22, 1818. Polética took his leave of the czar there. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 371.

la politique exclusive a souvent essayé de le revêtir, il se présente enfin dans toute la pureté de ses principes, et dans toute l'étendue de son influence conservatrice.

Il est dès lors fait pour être embrassé par tous les Etats civilisés, quelle que soit la nature de leurs institutions politiques, ou la place qu'ils occupent dans l'ordre des Nations.

Les Etats-Unis y sont appelés par leurs propres intérêts.

Les instructions antécédentes dont Vous avez été muni à différentes reprises depuis Votre nomination au poste que Vous allez occuper, Vous ont déjà suffisamment fait connaître les vues de Sa Majesté Impériale à cet égard. Le Ministère Imperial, tout en comptant sur Votre Zèle à les faire réussir aux Etats-Unis, ne se dissimule pas cependant les difficultés qu'opposeront à Vos efforts les préjugés populaires et les suggestions d'un intérêt mercantile mal-entendu. Le Ministère n'ignore pas qu'il existe aux Etats-Unis une opinion assez généralement répandue—qu'il ne convient nullement à ce pays de s'associer au système politique de l'Europe. On va même jusqu'à soutenir que les malheurs de l'Europe sont entrés pour beaucoup dans les causes de la prospérité progressive des Etats-Unis. On ne peut combattre les erreurs populaires que par les leçons de l'expérience, et celle-ci nous a déjà démontré, que si la longue tourmente politique que l'Europe a essayée, fut au commencement favorable au développement des ressources naturelles des Etats-Unis, elle a fini par les atteindre et les froisser. Dans quel pays, à l'exception de la Russie, les vaisseaux et les propriétés Américaines n'ont-elles pas été arbitrairement saisies et confisquées? Et si la dernière guerre entre les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre—qu'il faut considérer comme une conséquence inévitable du système d'isolement qu'ils ont voulu suivre, en dépit des circonstances—s'est terminée plus heureusement pour eux qu'ils ne l'avaient espéré eux-mêmes, on sent qu'ils en sont moins redevables à leurs forces, qu'à la présomption dédaigneuse qui a fait commettre tant de fautes à leur puissant adversaire.

Il nous paraît clair, Monsieur, que si les Etats-Unis persévèrent à se tenir éloignés du système politique Européen, dont ils finiront néanmoins toujours par ressentir et suivre l'impulsion—car telle est l'impérieuse loi de la nature des choses—les mêmes dangers qu'ils ont courus en 1812 peuvent se renouveler.

Dans cette supposition, on se demande: quel sera leur auxiliaire dans une lutte aussi disproportionnée? quelle Puissance se croira en droit d'élever sa voix en leur faveur?

Après Vous avoir développé ces aperçus généraux sur la direction qu'il serait à désirer d'imprimer à la politique Américaine, le Ministère Impérial Vous invite, Monsieur, à y vouer tous Vos soins. Il est d'avis toutefois qu'il ne Vous convient nullement de Vous mettre pour cela trop en évidence. Dans tout pays, gouverné par des institutions démocratiques, les préjugés politiques du Gouvernement sont d'autant plus difficiles à déraciner qu'ils sont ordinairement populaires. Et lorsqu'une fois les argumens, quelque spécieux qu'ils soient, ont manqué leur but, ils finissent toujours par renforcer les opinions qu'ils devaient renverser. Commencez par obtenir la Confiance des individus composant le Cabinet Américain; et lorsqu'ils Vous auront fait connaître leur véritable pensée, Vous verrez s'il Vous convient de l'appuyer ou de la combattre.

Un second point moins important, mais que le Ministère Impérial croit devoir Vous recommander particulièrement, a pour objet les relations actuelles des Etats-Unis avec l'Espagne.

Des avis réitérés et assez authentiques feraient croire que le Gouvernement Américain, cédant aux clameurs populaires, avait pris la résolution de reconnaître l'indépendance des Colonies Espagnoles, durant la session prochaine du Congrès.²¹—Tout ce qui porte atteinte aux principes de justice qui doivent régler les rapports politiques entre les Etats, ne saurait obtenir l'approbation de l'Empereur. D'ailleurs Sa Majesté Impériale est l'Allié du Roi d'Espagne, autant que tous les Souverains et Gouvernemens qui ont signé, ou accédé au Recès de Vienne, et aux actes de Paris de l'année 1815. C'est Vous indiquer en peu de mots, Monsieur, notre manière d'envisager l'acte du Gouvernement Américain dont il s'agit.

Si donc, à Votre arrivée à Washington, le Gouvernement Américain n'a point encore résolu la reconnaissance des Colonies Espagnoles insurgées, il Vous est très-expressément recommandé de chercher à dissuader le Cabinet de Washington de cet acte d'hostilité envers l'Espagne, en usant toute fois de la même circonspection qui Vous a été enjointe plus haut. Les argumens ne sauraient Vous manquer.

D'un côté, le Gouvernement Américain est sûr de s'attirer une guerre avec l'Espagne, qui, déjà par sa faiblesse, ne fournit aucune prise à la supériorité maritime de l'autre. Il y a toute probabilité que cette guerre partielle contre l'Espagne, finira par se communiquer à d'autres Puissances et peut-être par devenir générale. Qui peut alors calculer les chances? Est-il prudent de sacrifier tous les avantages que la paix générale offre aux Etats-Unis, à des contingens futurs et incertains, qui, après tout, peuvent n'aboutir qu'à créer des rivaux de plus à la puissance des Etats-Unis.

Le même esprit de conciliation, le même désir de préserver la tranquillité générale de toute atteinte, portent l'Empereur à désirer que les Etats-Unis puissent s'arranger à l'amiable avec l'Espagne relativement à la possession des Florides. C'est ainsi que Vous Vous expliquerez sur cette question lorsque Vous en serez interpellé.

Du reste, le Ministère Impérial, se référant aux instructions qui Vous ont été tracées précédemment, se flatte qu'il Vous a fourni tous les moyens qui étaient à sa disposition pour Vous mettre à même de Vous acquitter de la Mission qui Vous est confiée, à la satisfaction de l'Empereur notre Auguste Maître.

Recevez l'assurance de la considération très distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

NESSELRODE.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

le 9/21 Novembre 1818.

A Mr. le C. d'Et. Act. Poletica.

²¹ Adams on August 15 had sent a circular to the American ministers at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, asking in what light those governments would view such recognition. It did not in fact take place till June 19, 1822 (Colombia). For the whole story, see Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 124-177.

III. POLÍTICA TO NESSELRODE.

À Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

WASHINGTON, le 6/18 Novembre 1819.

Quelques jours avant mon retour ici²² toutes les gazettes du pays avaient retenties des succès obtenus dans le Courant d'Avril dernier par les troupes des insurgés de Vénézuëla sous les ordres de Bolivar, sur les détachements Royalistes dans le royaume de la Nouvelle Grenade. D'après les bulletins imprimés par les autorités insurgés à Angustura, le Général Bolivar ayant avec lui 3000 hommes, après avoir complètement défait les forces Royalistes qui voulurent s'opposer à son passage, a occupé Santa Fé de Bogota le 10 Août n. st. et doit y avoir trouvé des munitions considérables, des approvisionnements en tout genre, et des espèces métalliques, s'élevant à de très grandes sommes.

Quoique ces nouvelles portassent un caractère assez positif, je ne me suis pas hâté de les mander à Votre Excellence, craignant de me trouver dans le cas, ainsi que cela m'est déjà arrivé quelque fois, sinon de démentir ensuite complètement ces nouvelles, du moins de les réduire à des proportions beaucoup plus minces.

Dans la vue d'obtenir quelques données certains sur ces événements, ainsi que sur l'ensemble de l'état actuel des choses dans l'Amérique Méridionale, j'allais hier voir Mr. Adams à son bureau.²³

Je le questionnai en premier lieu sur ce qui se passait présentement à Angustura, qu'un bâtiment de guerre Américain avait visité depuis peu, lui demandant si les assertions que j'avais trouvées il y a quelque temps dans les gazettes à l'égard des dissensions, existantes entre les Chefs de ce Gouvernement, étaient exactes. Mr. Adams me répondit, que ces nouvelles étaient absolument fausses; que le Gouvernement à Angustura était parfaitement unanime; que le dernier changement que s'y était opéré, l'avait été paisiblement. Mr. Zea, Vice-Président de la République, ayant de plein gré cédé sa place au général Arismondi; que les dissensions intestines se réduisaient à une inimitié personnelle entre ce dernier et l'Amiral Brion, Commandant en Chef des forces navales de Vénézuëla; Que le général Bolivar continuait à être à la tête de toutes les affaires de la République en qualité du Président et qu'il jouissait de la confiance générale.

N'ayant aucune raison de suspecter l'exactitude de ces renseignements, du moins en ce qui concerne les circonstances principales, je ne puis me dispenser de réclamer de nouveau l'indulgence du Ministère Impérial relativement aux nouvelles qui terminent mon rapport sub No. 31.

Mr. Adams me confirma ensuite les succès du Général Bolivar dans la Nouvelle Grenade; en y ajoutant, que l'esprit d'insurrection avait pénétré dans toutes les provinces espagnoles de l'Amérique méridionale qui sont encore fidèles à la Mère Patrie. Il est allé jusqu'à avancer, que, si le Général Bolivar se présente au Mexique, que tout le pays se soulèverait spontanément. Je me suis permis quelques objections sur la probabilité de ce dernier résultat, de même que sur l'idée générale, qu'il

²² Polética arrived in Washington May 24, 1819. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 370. From August to November he appears to have been absent.

²³ The news was correct. For Adams's version of the conversation of November 17 reported below, see *Memoirs*, IV. 441-443.

s'était formée des dispositions des habitants dans les provinces attachées à la cause Royale. Mr Adams tout en soutenant ses opinions, convint cependant avec moi, que les rapports des insurgés avaient toujours été fort exagérés et que le Général Morillo avait montré une habileté peu commune en se maintenant pendant si longtemps avec des forces comparativement faibles, dans un pays où il avait à combattre les hommes, les éléments et les opinions exaspérées au dernier point par des cruautés réciproquement commises durant une longue guerre civile.

Au milieu de cette conversation le secrétaire d'Etat Américain me dit, que, puisque nous étions sur ce chapitre, il était bien aise de s'en faire une occasion pour me faire une communication confidentielle, afin que j'en fis part à mon Gouvernement.

Le Gouvernement Américain, me dit Mr. Adams, intimement convaincu que la lutte présente entre l'Espagne et les colonies se terminerait définitivement par l'indépendance pleine et entière de ces dernières; persuadé en outre que l'intérêt de l'humanité, celui de l'Europe en général, sans en excepter l'Espagne elle-même, l'intérêt manifeste des Etats Unis et des provinces insurgées de l'Amérique Espagnole réclamaient impérieusement qu'on mit le plus tôt possible un terme à une guerre aussi atroce dans ses détails qu'elle était impolitique dans son objet—qu'en conséquence le Gouvernement Américain avait pensé qu'un des moyens les plus propres à cet effet serait celui de faire la proposition aux principales puissances européennes de reconnaître l'indépendance de celles des colonies insurgées, qui avaient réussi à régulariser leurs Gouvernements intérieurs, en commençant par la République de Buenos Ayres, qu'à cette proposition on joindrait celle que ces mêmes Puissances réuniraient leurs efforts pour déterminer la cour de Madrid à faire aussi ce sacrifice en faveur de l'intérêt général.

Il y a à peu près deux ans, continua Monsieur Adams, que des ouvertures analogues ont été faites ici par lui aux Ministres d'Angleterre et de France. Le premier (Monsieur Bagot) tout en convenant des faits s'abstint néanmoins d'émettre une opinion, tandis que le second, Monsieur Hyde de Neuville, se prononça de la manière la plus positive au nom de son Gouvernement contre une proposition que sa Cour ne pouvait faire à l'Espagne sans blesser toutes les convenances et cette intime alliance qui unit les deux Cours sous le double rapport de la politique et d'une proche parenté.²⁴

Il ne fut donc plus question de faire à la France la proposition conçue par ce Gouvernement. Mais elle fut faite peu après au Cabinet Britannique par l'envoyé Américain à Londres dans la supposition que l'Angleterre, plus directement intéressée que les autres puissances européennes à la pacification de l'Amérique Espagnole, accueillerait aussi plus favorablement l'ouverture de ce Gouvernement. Ces suppositions furent déçues; le Ministère Anglais ayant décliné la proposition comme incompatible avec les relations existantes entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne.

Mr. Adams, après m'avoir mis au fait de la marche de cette affaire, mit un soin tout particulier à m'expliquer comment l'ouverture dont il s'agit n'a pas été faite dans le temps ni au Ministère Impérial directement, ni à l'Envoyé de Russie ici. Il m'était aisé de voir que le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain avait fort à cœur de me convaincre que la méfiance n'avait aucune part à cette réticence. Mr. Adams m'assura très solennellement que son Gouvernement était dans la persuasion que la proposi-

²⁴ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 186-187, 190, December 7, 12, 1818.

tion relative à la reconnaissance de Buenos-Ayres ne serait pas agréable à l'Empereur notre Maître, et qu'elle aurait été indubitablement faite à Sa Majesté Impériale dans une supposition contraire. Il s'attache à me faire remarquer ces nuances dans les motifs du silence que le Gouvernement américain avait gardé à notre égard.

Je répliquai que l'Empereur savait trop bien apprécier la sagacité des Etats Unis pour douter de leur sincérité, que Sa Majesté Impériale était persuadée par l'idée que lui suggérait la connaissance des intérêts les plus évidents de ce pays qu'après la France, la Russie était la puissance pour laquelle le Gouvernement américain devait se sentir le plus favorablement disposé. Qu'au surplus je n'éprouvais aucun embarras à lui déclarer que je me félicitais de n'avoir pas été sur les lieux à l'époque où l'ouverture relative à la reconnaissance de la République de Buenos-Ayres avait été faite aux Ministres de France et d'Angleterre. Que pour ma part je n'aurais pas hésité à la décliner au nom de l'Empereur mon Auguste Maître, vu qu'elle était [était] contraire aux pactes qui servent de base à la Grande Confédération Européenne, à la formations de laquelle Sa Majesté Impériale avait voué tant de soins et voua encore une si vive sollicitude.

Mr. Adams sans faire aucune objection à ma déclaration, continua à soutenir que l'émancipation finale des colonies Espagnoles était dans les décrets d'une impérieuse nécessité, qu'aucune volonté humaine ne pouvait changer. Qu'un peu plus tôt, un peu plus tard, cette nécessité deviendra un fait positif qu'il sera impossible de récuser. Que le Gouvernement Américain, par égard pour l'opinion qui prévaut en Europe, s'était abstenu jusqu'à présent de reconnaître les Républiques de l'Amérique Méridionale, mais que sa conviction sur ce point était toujours la même et que le Message du Président au Congrès qui va s'ouvrir contiendra des allusions conformes à cette façon de penser.

Sur cela je me suis permis d'observer à Mr. Adams que puisqu'ils étaient persuadés de l'émancipation forcée des Colonies Espagnoles à une époque plus ou moins éloignée, opinion qu'individuellement je partage pleinement avec lui, il me semblait que la prudence commandait d'attendre les événements plutôt que de les provoquer. Que l'Espagne poussée à bout pourrait bien par un acte désespéré déclarer la guerre aux Etats Unis et que cette lutte en raison de la faiblesse même de l'Espagne, qui la soustrait aux coups qu'on voudrait lui porter, serait toute à son avantage.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain me répondit, avec un mouvement de vivacité qu'il ne put réprimer, que c'était à eux seuls à examiner la question de prudence. Qu'on ne cherchait point ici une guerre avec l'Espagne, mais qu'on envisageait la reconnaissance de la République de Buenos Ayres comme un moyen propre à terminer au plus tôt une guerre horrible et désastreuse et que ce moyen avait pour lui cette force morale qu'on invoquait si souvent en Europe.

Pour tranquilliser Mr. Adams je l'assurais que dans tout ce que je venais de lui dire en dernier lieu, il ne devait voir que l'expression de mes opinions individuels. Que rien n'était plus éloigné de la pensée de mon Gouvernement que de vouloir influencer les déterminations des Etats Unis, mais que je m'étais fait une règle de répondre à sa confiance par la plus grande franchise de ma part. Que pour le convaincre de la libéralité des vues de l'Empereur mon Maître relativement à l'important

question de la pacification des Colonies Espagnoles, je me proposai de lui faire incessamment lecture de notre mémoire sur cet objet.²⁶

Dans le cours de cette conversation, dont je crois avoir exactement rendu les points les plus essentiels, il est arrivé à Mr. Adams de me dire que la proposition de reconnaître Buenos Ayres a été faite aux Ministres de France et d'Angleterre peu avant l'ouverture des négociations pour la cession de la Floride entre le Secrétaire d'Etat d'Amérique et Mr. d'Onis. Il est par conséquent très vraisemblable que ce Gouvernement, moins étranger aux finesses permises en politique qu'on ne le croit communément, aura imaginé cet expédient pour rendre l'Espagne plus traitable. Mais dans l'explication que Mr. Adams, sans aucune provocation de ma part, a cru devoir me donner à ce sujet, il m'est impossible de voir autre chose que le désir bien sincère de réparer une omission involontaire à notre égard.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence,
le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
PIERRE DE POLETICA.

P. S. WASHINGTON 11/23 Novembre 1819.

Quelques jours s'étant écoulés avant l'expédition du présent rapport, je me suis trouvé à même de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence une gazette de Philadelphie qui contient les bulletins du Général Bolivar sur les derniers évènements militaires dans le Royaume de la Nouvelle Grenade.

POLETICA.

IV. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.²⁸

Monsieur,

L'Empereur a pris lecture de vos rapports en date du $\frac{1}{2}$ Mai et du $\frac{1}{17}$ Juillet et a trouvé avec plaisir dans la justesse de vos observations et dans l'importance des renseignements que vous nous transmettez, une nouvelle preuve de la sagacité et des talens qui vous distinguent.

Ces talens, Monsieur, vous serviront à remplir avec succès une tâche que Sa Majesté Impériale vous confie.

Vous avez sans doute été dans le cas d'apprendre combien sont positives les dernières instructions expédiées à M^{eur} de Forsyth par le Président du Congrès.²⁷ L'Empereur ne prendra point ici la défense de l'Espagne; mais Il vous charge de plaider auprès du Cabinet de Washington, la cause de la paix et de la concorde. Ce gouvernement est trop éclairé pour précipiter ses démarches, ses titres semblent trop réels pour qu'il ne les affoiblisse par une manière de procéder violente: et d'un autre côté tel est le caractère des considérations qui commandent à l'Espagne de ratifier l'arrangement relatif aux Florides, qu'il faut espérer qu'Elle cédera enfin à la force de l'évidence. Les Etats unis auront alors joint à la gloire d'une politique habile, celle d'une politique modérée et recueilleront avec sécurité les fruits de leur sagesse.

²⁶ See note 15 above.

²⁷ A translation of most of this letter will be found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 676, and in *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1402.

²⁸ Instructions of August 18, 1819, no doubt. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 657-660.

Sa Majesté Impériale souhaite par conséquent que vous engagiez, S'il en est tems encore, le Cabinet de Washington à donner au Ministère Espagnol la preuve d'une patience que doit inspirer peut-être le malheur même de sa position. Toutefois L'Empereur n'intervient pas dans cette discussion. Il ne prétend point surtout exercer d'influence dans les Conseils d'une Puissance étrangère. Il se borne à exprimer un vœu que Lui dicte l'amour du bien général, un vœu, digne de la loyauté qui caractérise le Gouvernement des Etats Unis.

Agréez, Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.
NESSELRODE.

ST. PETERSBOURG

le 27 Novembre 1819.

À Mr. de Poletica.

V. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 31 Janvier 1820.
12 Février

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Le Gouvernement Américain a reçu ces jours ci des avis de Madrid et il m'était revenu aussitôt qu'on n'en était point satisfait et que la Mission de Forsyth touchait à sa fin sans avoir réalisé aucune des espérances qui l'avait motivée. Le même jour, ayant rencontré Monsieur Adams chez le Président, je lui demandais tout simplement, ainsi que j'ai agis toujours avec lui, s'il pouvait, sans compromettre le secret des affaires, me communiquer quelque chose pour l'information de ma cour, du contenu des nouvelles qu'il venait de recevoir d'Espagne. Je ne lui dissimulai pas ce que j'avais appris à cet égard.

Monsieur Adams me répondit, avec un air d'indifférence qui n'avait rien d'affecté, que les dernières dépêches de Monsieur Forsyth ne contenaient rien de particulièrement intéressant. Qu'il était probable que ce Ministre reviendrait ici bientôt, mais que je n'ignorais pas qu'à l'époque de son départ, il avait été entendu qu'il retournerait pour chercher sa famille.²⁸

Je ne pressai pas davantage Monsieur Adams, quoique j'avais tout lieu de suspecter une reticence de sa part et notre entretien en resta là.

Aujourd'hui un simple hasard m'a fait connaître d'une manière positive la circonstance principale des dernières nouvelles de Madrid et quoiqu'il soit très vraisemblable que votre Excellence en ait été instruite par notre Chargé d'Affaires en Espagne, je ne m'en fais pas moins un devoir de lui en parler dans ce rapport.

Mr. Forsyth, voyant qu'après ces [ses] dernières explications avec le Ministre Espagnol au sujet de la ratification du traité relatif à la cession des Florides, cette affaire restait dans une stagnation complète, crut devoir interpeller de nouveau le Gouvernement Espagnol et lui adressa à cet effet une note qui lui fut renvoyée, sans avoir même été ouverte.

Mr. Forsyth, jugeant avec raison, qu'il n'avait plus rien à faire à Madrid, doit avoir écrit à Mr. Adams qu'il allait quitter cette capitale, et que ses premières lettres seraient datées de Bordeaux.

²⁸ See Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 519, February 9.

Quelque triviale que puisse paraître cette affaire chez nous [vous?], elle ne manquera pas de produire chez nous, une assez forte sensation, lorsque le moment arrivera d'en faire part au Congrès.

J'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que le public américain a eu le temps de revenir de cette irritation que les premières nouvelles de la non ratification du traité de cession avaient produites dans le pays. Une plus juste appréciation des chances d'une guerre avec l'Espagne dans les circonstances actuelles ont fait succéder des dispositions plus modérées à ces velléités belliqueuses, que les journalistes avaient provoquées dans le public, en excitant la vanité nationale. Le ton de la correspondance de Mr. Forsyth avec le Ministre Espagnol est maintenant presque généralement désapprouvé et l'on attribue la faute à Mr. Adams, qui en avait donné le premier exemple dans sa correspondance avec le Chevalier Onis antérieurement à la conclusion du Traité.

Une motion a été faite au Congrès, il y a quelques jours, qui aurait fort embarrassé le secrétaire d'Etat Américain.²⁹

Elle avait pour objet d'obtenir des explications sur une assertion, contenue dans une de ses dépêches à Monsieur Forsyth, et par laquelle Monsieur Adams se permettait de dire que le Gouvernement Espagnol n'oserait pas nier qu'il avait autorisé Monsieur Onis à faire des concessions plus fortes, que celles qu'il avait faites dans le Traité en question. Cette motion n'est tombée que parce qu'on l'avait jugée prématurée. Mais à présent que la grande question de l'introduction de l'esclavage dans le nouvel Etat du Missouri va être bientôt décidée au congrès, il faut s'attendre que cette assemblée s'occupera de l'affaire des Florides, qui tient toujours fort à coeur à la Nation. Il est malheureux pour Monsieur Adams d'y compter des ennemis très influents dans les deux Chambres et d'avoir en même temps à se garder contre des antagonistes même dans le Cabinet.

Depuis quelque temps Monsieur Adams paraît fort abattu et plus réservé que jamais: personne ne doute que ses chances pour arriver un jour à la Présidence ne soient presque entièrement détruites. On s'attend même à le voir déplacé après la réélection du Président actuel l'année prochaine. Dans ce cas je serai du nombre de ceux qui auront quelques raisons de le regretter.

Mes relations personnelles avec ce Ministre continuent à être très amicales: mais depuis la réunion du Congrès elles sont devenues très rares. Les nombreuses occupations attachées au Département d'Etat, absorbent tout son temps durant la session du Congrès. D'ailleurs ayant déjà fait à Mr. Adams toutes les avances qui m'ont paru devoir provoquer sa confiance j'ai pensé que je devais m'arrêter et attendre, d'après mes instructions, que Mr. Adams vint de son côté au devant de moi.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

²⁹ Resolution by Senator Walker of Georgia. *Ibid.*

VI. POLÍTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{25 \text{ Décembre } 1820.}{6 \text{ Janvier } 1821.}$

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Par un navire tout récemment arrivé de Gibraltar le Gouvernement Américain a reçu des dépêches de son Ministre à Madrid, qui lui ont appris la ratification du traité des Florides par S. M. Catholique. L'instrument du traité ratifié, ayant été expédié par la voie de Bordeaux, n'est point encore arrivé, mais on l'attend incessamment ici vu qu'on sait déjà par les gazettes anglaises que le "Messenger Espagnol", porteur de la ratification, était arrivé à Bordeaux et devait s'y embarquer sans perte de temps.

Mr. le Comte Bulgari²⁰ a profité de la même occasion pour me donner avis de ce dénouement de l'affaire des Florides, en me transmettant une copie de la note, que le Chevalier Perez de Castro²¹ lui avait adressée à ce sujet. J'allai aussitôt voir Mr. Adams au bureau des Affaires Etrangères et je le complimentai sur la conclusion d'une négociation commencée depuis si longtemps. Je lui glissai quelques mots sur les motifs que le Gouvernement Américain avait à se féliciter maintenant d'avoir préféré le système de modération à tout autre dans la conduite de cette affaire.

Mr. Adams a reçu mes félicitations comme un homme qui se les avait déjà adressées à lui-même. Tout son maintien, ainsi que les paroles, indiquaient le contentement complet. Et lorsque je lui donnai à lire la copie de la note du Chevalier Perez de Castro au Comte Bulgari, il me dit, en l'achevant, que le Gouvernement Espagnol avait bien raison de remercier l'Empereur Alexandre, car sans les bons offices de Sa Majesté Impériale, l'affaire des Florides aurait pu prendre une tournure moins favorable à l'Espagne.

Tout en remerciant le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain de la justice qu'il venait de rendre à l'Empereur, justice à laquelle, je dois le dire, j'ai trouvé Mr. Adams disposé dans toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées,—je lui répondis, en prenant le ton de la confiance, qu'ayant toujours considéré le traité des Florides comme également avantageux pour les deux parties contractantes, je continuai à l'envisager sous ce point de vue et je ne pouvais par conséquent que désirer de voir cette affaire irrévocablement terminée. Que j'espérais aussi qu'elle passerait au Sénat, malgré les délais qu'elle avait éprouvés, délais qui, d'après le texte de la ratification américaine, ont rendu une seconde confirmation de la part du Sénat indispensable.

On attend ici avec la plus vive impatience l'arrivée du "Messenger Espagnol" et le Gouvernement est d'autant plus sollicité à cet égard, qu'on craint que les Députés des Etats de l'Ouest au Congrès ne réussissent à organiser au Sénat une forte opposition à la ratification du traité des Florides.

Les motifs d'opposition de ces derniers s'expliquent aisément.

²⁰ Chargé d'affaires of Russia at Madrid.

²¹ The Spanish minister of foreign affairs. The conversation which follows is mentioned in Adams, *Memoirs*, V. 230.

Les grands spéculateurs en terre publique, et la totalité des aventuriers dans les Etats de l'Ouest, s'étant accoutumés à l'idée que la province de Texas finirait par échoir tôt ou tard aux Etats Unis, voyent à regret cette riche Province assurée à l'Espagne par les clauses du Traité si souvent mentionné.

Le présent rapport termine la seconde série qui se compose de 62 Nos.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence Le très humble et obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

VII. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

[WASHINGTON, February 15, 1821.]

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Je crois avoir déjà eu l'honneur de prévenir Votre Excellence en son temps que le premier terme de quatre ans de la Présidence de Mr. Monroe devant expirer le 4 Mars suivant, une nouvelle élection d'un Magistrat Suprême de la République avait eu lieu dans le courant de l'Automne dernier au milieu de tous les Etats de l'Union. D'après les formes et les règles, établies à cet égard par la Constitution fédérale, les deux chambres du Congrès devaient se réunir à une époque désignée dans un même local pour y procéder en commun au dépouillement des votes, émis par les électeurs qui sont expressément choisis par le peuple à chaque renouvellement du Président, et Vice-Président, des Etats Unis. Cette formalité a eu lieu hier, dans la chambre des représentants, où le Sénat s'était rendu en corps. Le résultat du dépouillement a fait connaître que, sur la totalité des 231 votes,²³² Mr. Monroe les avait réunis tous, à l'exception d'un seul, qui a été donné en faveur de Mr. Adams. Le Président actuel fut en conséquence proclamé comme tel pour le second terme de 4 ans, à commencer du 4 Mars prochain. La même unanimité, à quelques voix près, a été obtenue par Mr. Daniel Tompkins de New York, Vice-Président actuel.

On s'attend assez généralement que Mr. Monroe, se voyant maintenant dégagé des ménagements individuels que lui imposait le soin de la réélection, n'ayant plus rien à demander à la faveur populaire et possédant les mêmes moyens pour augmenter le nombre de ses amis, profitera de son affranchissement pour imprimer au système politique des Etats Unis un caractère plus prononcé et développer en même temps ses vues personnelles, quant à l'administration des affaires intérieures du pays.

Je suis disposé à croire, Monsieur le Comte, que ces conjectures ne sont point sans quelque fondement. Cependant il est assez curieux d'observer à ce sujet, que le Président Monroe, quoique unanimement réélu pour le second terme de la Magistrature Suprême, rencontra dans la chambre des représentants une majorité de plus de 30 Membres, constamment opposés à toutes les mesures, dans lesquelles ils croient apercevoir des vues particulières de la part de l'exécutive. Cette espèce d'anomalie dans la marche du Gouvernement fédéral surprend d'autant plus, que la réélection du Président était connue d'avance.

²³² 232.

Le jour de l'inauguration du Président réélu est fixé au 4 Mars prochain et par le discours qu'il doit, selon un usage établi, prononcer à cette occasion, on pourra former sur ses vues politiques des conjectures plus positives. Je m'empresse de le transmettre à Votre Excellence aussitôt qu'il paraîtra.

On ignore encore si le Corps Diplomatique sera invité à assister à cette cérémonie. Lors de la première élection de Mr. Monroe, les Ministres et autres agents étrangers s'y trouvèrent comme simples particuliers, à la suite d'un malentendu avec le Secrétaire d'Etat. Cette absence totale de formalité est d'après mon humble opinion ce qui convient le mieux au Corps Diplomatique, vu l'extrême susceptibilité républicaine, qui s'effarouche à la moindre apparence de distinction.³³

Les compétiteurs futurs à la Présidence ne tarderont pas à se mettre à l'évidence. La voix publique continue à indiquer comme tels Mr. Quincy Adams, Secrétaire d'Etat, et Mr. Crawford, Secrétaire de la Trésorerie. La popularité du premier a fait des progrès considérables depuis quelques temps et il n'y a pas de doute que l'heureuse conclusion de l'Affaire des Florides ne l'étende encore plus. Cependant la faveur populaire est par la nature tellement versatile qu'il n'est guère possible de prévoir, sur lequel des deux compétiteurs mentionnés elle s'arrêtera dans quatre ans d'ici. Cela dépendra également de ce qu'ils feront comme ce qu'ils chercheront d'éviter dans le maniement des affaires publiques.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

VIII. POLÉTICA TO NESSSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 6 Mai 1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence un exemplaire imprimé du rapport de Mr. Adams, secrétaire d'Etat, sur les poids et mesures,³⁴ que j'ai déjà annoncé au Ministre Impérial dans un de mes précédents rapports. Cet ouvrage, intéressant par les soins que Mr. Adams y a mis, les renseignements historiques qu'il contient, et les principes généreux qu'il établit sur une matière d'une si haute importance pour la science de l'administration, n'a paru que tout récemment de sous presse, quoiqu'il ait été transmis au Congrès quelques jours avant la clôture.

Mr. Adams s'est offert lui-même à faire tenir un exemplaire de son rapport à Mr. le professeur Schoubert, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie

³³ The members of the diplomatic corps were duly invited, though they had physical difficulties in entering. See Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, I, 318, and Adams, V, 317-318.

³⁴ *Report on Weights and Measures* (16 Cong., 2 sess., House Doc. no. 109, Washington, 1821, pp. 245), on which Adams had been at work for more than three years, and which he regarded as his chief literary performance.

Impériale des sciences à St.-Petersbourg,⁸⁵ et je n'ai pas manqué d'en exprimer à Mr. Adams tous mes remerciements.

Connaissant les occupations aussi multipliées qu'importantes, qui réclament sans cesse l'attention du Ministre Impérial, je puis à peine me flatter qu'il ait le loisir nécessaire pour prendre connaissance du travail volumineux de Mr. Adams sur les poids et les mesures. Mais alors se [ce] serait déjà ce me semble en tirer quelque parti que de le communiquer à Mr. le Ministre des finances comme un objet de curiosité scientifique, qui entre plus naturellement dans le cercle de ses occupations.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

IX. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

PHILADELPHIA 12 Juillet 1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Dans mon rapport sub No. 22 du 14 Juin dernier, j'ai eu l'honneur de prévenir Votre Excellence que Mr. Adams s'était chargé de prononcer un discours analogue à la circonstance le jour de la célébration de l'anniversaire de la Déclaration de l'Indépendance des Etas Unis, qui se renouvelle tous les ans au 4 Juillet n. s. Je m'empresse aujourd'hui de soumettre ci-joint au jugement du Ministère Impérial ce discours tout récemment sortie de la presse.⁸⁶

Ainsi que l'avaient prévu tous ceux qui connaissent l'impétuosité naturelle de Mr. Adams, il lui a été impossible d'observer en cette occasion solennelle cette mesure que son âge, le respect dû aux convenances, mais surtout sa place et ses rapports officiels avec le Corps Diplomatique lui commandait si impérieusement. Le discours de Mr. Adams, prononcé dans la salle du Congrès, au milieu d'un auditoire très nombreux, auquel le secrétaire d'Etat s'est présenté en chaire, revêtu de la toge doctorale, n'est d'un bout à l'autre qu'une diatribe virulente contre l'Angleterre, entremêlée d'exagérations républicaines, qui s'adressent non à la classe instruite et éclairée de la Nation, mais à la majorité numérique du public américain.

Je me suis permis, Monsieur le Comte, de marquer au crayon les passages qui m'ont paru manquer le plus au bon goût et aux convenances et je prie Votre Excellence de remarquer celui qui donne la clef de la politique américaine. Il me paroît contenir en peu de mots tout le système.

L'opinion de tous les individus, connus par leur modération et leur prudence, s'accorde à condamner Mr. Adams d'abord pour s'être

⁸⁵ Friedrich Theodor Schubert (1758-1825), director of the astronomical observatory of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Adams had known him in St. Petersburg; *Memoirs*, II. 220, 566.

⁸⁶ An Address delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington . . . on the Fourth of July, 1821 (Washington, 1821). It deserves the censures expressed in the letter.

volontairement chargé d'un rôle qu'on avait vu jusqu'à présent rempli par de jeunes avocats débutant dans la profession; en second lieu pour s'en être acquitté avec tant d'indiscrétion et de violence.

Il est très probable que les rapports futurs entre Mr. Adams et le Ministre d'Angleterre se ressentiront de cet incident.³⁷ Quant à moi, il m'a fourni un motif additionnel de me féliciter de ma résolution de m'éloigner à Tems de Washington et je me sais maintenant d'autant plus gré de n'avoir point assisté au banquet du 4 Juillet dernier, que parmi les toasts volontaires qui y furent portés, il s'en est trouvé un qui consistait en un misérable calembourg sur la Sainte Alliance.³⁸

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

X. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

NEW YORK $\frac{23 \text{ Septembre.}}{5 \text{ Octobre,}}$ 1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

L'Assesseur de Collège Baron de Maltitz³⁹ est arrivé ici de Londres il y a environ quinze jours, mais il n'a pu me remettre l'expédition, dont il a été chargé, qu'à mon retour en cette ville du Canada le 21 Septembre (3 Octobre) courant.

Je dois avant tout faire observer à Votre Excellence qu'une partie de cette expédition, originairement confiée au Chasseur Messer, est restée en route près d'une année, et qu'il n'a pas été par conséquent en mon pouvoir, d'en accuser plus tôt la réception. Ce délai extraordinaire s'est porté principalement sur les différentes dépêches de Votre Excellence du 18/30 Juillet et 3/15 Décembre 1820.

Lorsque les membres composant le Cabinet Américain se seront réunis de nouveau à Washington, je m'empresserai de m'acquitter auprès de Mr. Adams des communications qui me sont prescrites par les dépêches de Votre Excellence, datées de Laybach du 12/24 Mars, 18/30 Mars et 28 Avril/10 Mai de cette année. J'aurai l'honneur de lui rendre compte en temps et lieu.⁴⁰

La ville de Washington est absolument désertée dans ce moment. Le Président des Etats Unis est dans sa terre en Virginie. Mr. Adams se trouve avec son père aux environs de Boston. Les autres secrétaires

³⁷ Canning says in his memoirs, "The diplomatic body formed a portion of the audience and I avoided my share, *the lion's*, of the annoyance, only by making a short holiday excursion to Harper's Ferry. I had fortunately seen enough of the orator to anticipate the turn which his unbridled eloquence was likely to take." Lane-Poole, p. 309.

³⁸ The jest was harmless enough. "By George Hay, Esq. of Virginia [son-in-law of President Monroe]. Perpetuity, prosperity, and glory, to the Holy Alliance — of these United States." *National Intelligencer*, July 5, 1821.

³⁹ A new secretary of legation.

⁴⁰ Adams, V. 445. The instructions here mentioned have not been found.

d'Etat continuent à voyager dans l'intérieur du pays, à l'exception de Mr. Crawford de la trésorerie, qui commence à se rétablir d'une violente fièvre bilieuse, dont il a pensé être la victime et qui a prévalu cette année à Washington avec une malignité extraordinaire.

Le temps qui s'est écoulé depuis la clôture du Congrès de Laybach, ainsi que les affaires hideuses de la Turquie," ont dû avoir refroidi l'intérêt, que le Gouvernement et le public Américain avaient pris aux transactions si hautement importantes de la dernière réunion des Souverains Alliés. Ici comme en Europe tous les regards sont tournés vers le Bosphore, le Danube; mais surtout vers le Prouth. Dans l'attitude imposante de notre armée du Sud, les Américains se plaisent à voir déjà la première étincelle d'une guerre continentale en Europe, objet de leurs plus ardents souhaits, que la sagesse des Souverains Alliés a su jusqu'à présent tromper. Tous les agriculteurs et armateurs de vaisseaux-marchands aux Etats Unis, attendent avec la plus vive impatience la déclaration de la guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane, ayant calculé d'avance tout ce que la clôture du port d'Odessa leur fera gagner par le réhaussement du prix de leurs grains, et du frêt de leurs navires, qui sont à pourrir dans les ports en très grand nombre, calculs impies, que la modération de l'Empereur ne manquera pas de déjouer, comme tous les autres rêves de l'avarice et de l'égoïsme, qui les ont précédé.

Ces considérations réunies me confirment, Monsieur le Comte, dans la résolution que j'ai prise de persévérer à mon retour à Washington dans la même ligne de conduite vis-à-vis de Mr. Adams, que j'ai uniformément suivie jusqu'à présent.

Après m'être acquité auprès de lui des communications qu'il m'a été commandé de lui faire, j'attendrai pour lui faire des ouvertures plus confidentielles qu'il m'en exprime le désir de son propre mouvement, après lui avoir fait cependant entrevoir mes dispositions à en user avec franchise avec lui. Il me sera alors fort aisé de le convaincre que ma réserve ne tenait qu'à des motifs de délicatesse et nullement à quelques sentiments de méfiance ou de bouderie.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

XI. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Recu à Wash. le 27 Janv. 1822.⁴²
6 Fevr.

Circulaire.

No. 8.—

ST. PETERSBOURG le 7 8bre 1821.

Monsieur,

Au moment de renouveler le privilège de la compagnie Russe-Américaine, et de soumettre à une révision les réglemens concernant ses opérations commerciales, le Gouvernement a dû vouer une attention

⁴¹ The revolt of the Morea and the ensuing massacres.

⁴² It will be noted that these instructions were received by Polética after the writing of no. XIII. below.

particulière aux plaintes auxquelles ont plus d'une fois donné lieu les entreprises de contrebandiers et d'aventuriers étrangers sur les côtes Nord Ouest de l'Amérique appartiennent à la Russie. Il a été reconnu que ces entreprises n'ont pas seulement pour objet un commerce frauduleux de pelletteries et d'autres articles exclusivement réservés à la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, mais qu'elles paraissent souvent même trahir une tendance hostile; attendu que des gens sans aveu viennent fournir des armes et des munitions aux naturels dans nos possessions d'Amérique, et qu'ils les excitent en quelque sorte à la résistance et à la révolte contre les autorités qui s'y trouvent établies. Il étoit donc essentiel d'opposer des mesures sévères à ces menées, et de garantir la compagnie contre les préjudices sensibles qui en résulteront pour elle; et c'est dans cette vue, que le règlement ci-joint³³ vient d'être publié. Les missions Impériales sont invitées à le porter à la connoissance des Gouvernemens auprès desquels elles sont accréditées, et à leur exposer les motifs qui l'ont dicté en y ajoutant les explications suivantes:

Le nouveau règlement n'interdit point aux bâtimens étrangers la navigation dans les mers qui baignent les possessions russes sur les côtes Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique et Nord-Est de l'Asie. Une défense pareille, qu'il n'eût pas été difficile d'appuyer d'une force navale suffisante, aurait été, à la vérité, le moyen le plus efficace de protéger les intérêts de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, et elle semblerait en outre fondée sur des droits incontestables. Car, d'un côté, éloigner une fois pour toutes, des plages indiquées ci-dessus, les navires étrangers, c'étoit faire cesser à jamais les entreprises coupables qu'il s'agit de prévenir. D'un autre côté, en considérant les possessions Russes qui s'étendent, tant sur la côte Nord Ouest de l'Amérique, depuis le détroit de Bering jusqu'au 51° de latitude septentrionale, que sur la côte opposée de l'Asie et les îles adjacentes, depuis le même détroit jusqu'au 45°, on ne sauroit disconvenir, que l'espace de mer dont ces possessions forment les limites, ne réunisse toutes les conditions que les publicistes les plus connus et les mieux accrédités ont attachées à la définition d'une mer fermée, et que par conséquent le Gouvernement Russe ne se trouve parfaitement autorisé à exercer sur cette mer des droits de Souveraineté, et notamment celui d'en interdire l'approche aux étrangers.—Cependant, quelque importantes que fussent les considérations qui reclamaient une semblable mesure, quelque légitime qu'elle eût été en elle-même, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas voulu, dans cette occasion, fair usage d'une faculté que lui assurent les titres de possession les plus sacrés, et que confirment d'ailleurs des autorités irréfragables. Il s'est borné au contraire, comme on a lieu de s'en convaincre par le règlement nouvellement publié, à défendre à tout bâtiment étranger, non seulement d'aborder dans les établissemens de la Compagnie Américaine, comme dans la presqu'île du Kamtchatka et les côtes de la mer d'Ochotsk, mais aussi de naviguer le long de ces possessions, et en général, d'en approcher à une distance de 100 milles d'Italie.

³³ The ukase of September 4/16, 1821. Translation in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 857-861. A printed copy, in English, accompanied these instructions.

³⁴ Speransky, governor general of Siberia, told the American minister, Middleton, that it had at first been the intention of the Russian government to declare the North Pacific *mare clausum*. Adams, VI. 93, and *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 42.

Des vaisseaux de la marine Impériale viennent d'être expédiés pour veiller au maintien de cette disposition. Elle nous paroît aussi légale, qu'elle a été urgente. Car, s'il est démontré que le Gouvernement Impérial eût eu à la rigueur la faculté de fermer entièrement aux étrangers cette partie de l'Océan Pacifique, que bordent nos possessions en Amérique et en Asie, à plus forte raison le droit en vertu duquel il vient d'adopter une mesure beaucoup moins généralement restrictive, doit ne pas être révoqué en doute. Ce droit est en effet universellement admis, et toutes les Puissances maritimes l'ont plus ou moins exercé dans leur système colonial. Enfin, l'usage que le Gouvernement Impérial vient d'en faire en faveur de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, ne sauroit préjudicier aux intérêts d'aucune nation, attendu qu'il n'est guère à supposer, qu'outre les exceptions spécifiées dans notre règlement, un vaisseau étranger quelconque puisse avoir des motifs réels et légitimes pour relâcher aux établissemens russes. Nous aimons donc à espérer que les Puissances, auxquelles ce nouveau règlement va être communiqué, reconnoîtront les considérations majeures qui lui ont servi de base, et que, par une suite de relations de paix et de bonne harmonie qui subsistent entr'elles et la Russie, elles n'hésiteront pas à imposer à leurs sujets respectifs le devoir des s'y conformer strictement, afin de prévenir les inconvéniens auxquels une contravention de leur part donnerait lieu nécessairement.

Sa Majesté L'Empereur désire que Ses Missions obtiennent ce résultat, en s'acquittant de la communication que leur prescrit la présente circulaire.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

P. S. En dressant les instructions pour les officiers commandans les bâtimens de guerre Russes qui sont destinés à veiller, dans l'Océan Pacifique, au maintien des dispositions nouvellement arrêtées à l'égard des établissemens de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, le Gouvernement Impérial est parti de la supposition qu'un navire étranger qui auroit fait voile d'un des ports de l'Europe après le 1^{er} Mars 1822, ou d'un des ports des Etats-Unis après le 1^{er} Juillet de la même année, ne pourroit plus légalement prétexter l'ignorance du nouveau règlement. Nos marins ont donc reçu l'ordre de régler en conséquence leur conduite, quant à l'époque à dater de laquelle ils auroient à mettre en vigueur les dispositions susmentionnées.

Nous croyons devoir communiquer ces notions additionnelles aux Missions Impériales, en les invitant à les porter également à la connoissance des Gouvernemens auprès desquels elles sont accréditées, afin de compléter ainsi les informations renfermées dans la circulaire de ce jour.

Ut in litteris,

NESSELRODE.

XII. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Recu à Wash. le 27 Janv. 1822.
8 Fevr.

No. 9.

ST. PETERSBOURG le 7 Octobre 1821.

Monsieur,

En Vous adressant, ainsi qu' aux missions Impériales près les autres Puissances maritimes, la circulaire de ce jour qui accompagne le règle-

ment concernant la compagnie Russe-Américaine, nous croyons devoir y ajouter quelques observations qui se rapportent plus particulièrement au Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité.

Il vous sera aisé de vous convaincre, Monsieur, que les dispositions qui font l'objet du nouveau règlement, ont principalement été motivées par les tentatives coupables de quelques marins américains dans nos établissemens sur la côte Nord-ouest de l'Amérique, et que c'est contre ces individus surtout qu'il a été jugé nécessaire ici d'adopter les mesures prohibitives dont nous venons de vous faire part. La mission de Washington ayant déjà été dans le cas de s'expliquer sur cet objet avec le Gouvernement américain, Vous connaissez, Monsieur, le point de vue sous lequel il l'envisage, et Vous serez par conséquent à même de choisir les formes que Vous jugerez les plus convenables, afin de porter à sa connaissance les nouvelles communications qui Vous sont prescrites par notre circulaire. Mais tout en préférant à cet égard le mode le plus confidentiel et le plus amical possible, il nous semble que vous pourriez néanmoins observer à Mr. Adams, avec la franchise que Vous êtes habitué à faire présider à Vos relations avec ce Ministre, que, du moment où le gouvernement américain s'est déclaré hors d'état de surveiller les opérations commerciales de ses sujets, et de leur interdire nommément des entreprises qui blessent les intérêts d'une Puissance étrangère quelconque, il a par-là-même reconnu à celle-ci le plein droit d'adopter les mesures les plus efficaces pour réprimer des entreprises de ce genre, et de se garantir, fut-ce même par des moyens coercitifs, contre des préjudices réels.

Il Vous sera d'ailleurs facile de convaincre Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires étrangères, que les dispositions arrêtées à cet effet chez nous, ne sont nullement de nature à préjudicier aux intérêts des Etats Unis, qu'elles n'ont d'autre but que de prévenir les tentatives illégales de quelques spéculateurs, sujets américains, et d'obvier ainsi aux discussions qui pourraient en résulter, entre les cabinets respectifs;—que par conséquent, loin d'entraver les vues justes et éclairées que la politique commerciale du Gouvernement américain peut lui suggérer, elles sont au contraire une nouvelle preuve du désir constant de l'Empereur de maintenir et voir se resserrer de plus en plus les liens d'amitié qui subsistent si heureusement entre Son Empire et les Etats-Unis.

En s'occupant du travail, dont Vous recevez aujourd'hui communication, Monsieur, le Ministère n'a pas perdu de vue les informations renfermées dans votre dépêche du ^{21 Janv.}_{2 Fevr.} No. 3.⁴⁵ Il a surtout voué une attention particulière au rapport du comité chargé de rendre compte au Congrès des établissemens existans sur la côte de l'Océan pacifique.⁴⁶ Mais quel que soit le jugement de ce comité à l'égard des possessions de la compagnie Russe-américaine, il n'a rien pu faire changer à des déterminations hautement réclamées par les circonstances; car nous le répétons, en plaçant les intérêts de cette compagnie à l'abri de toute atteinte, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a cru léser les droits d'aucune Puissance, et d'ailleurs l'effet des dispositions arrêtées ne s'étend guère au Sud, le long de la côte Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, au delà du degré de latitude où, d'après votre dépêche, se bornent les droits que les

⁴⁵ Not found.

⁴⁶ Report on the Pacific Ocean Settlements, 16 Cong., 2 sess., *Reports of Committees*, no. 45, January 25, 1821, reprinted in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II, 629-634.

Américains peuvent avoir acquis sur cette même côte, par leurs transactions avec l'Espagne.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.
NESSELRODE.

XIII. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, 8/20 Décembre 1821.

A Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Ce ne fut que ces jours-ci et par des extraits insérés dans les gazettes du pays, que j'ai eu la première connaissance de l'oukase Impérial du 4/16 Septembre dernier, concernant la démarcation des limites des possessions de notre Compagnie Américaine sur la côté Nord-Ouest de cet hémisphère, ainsi que les réglemens relatifs au Commerce étranger dans ces parages.

Ayant appris en même temps que Monsieur Adams venait de recevoir des dépêches de Monsieur Middleton, je me suis empressé d'adresser au Secrétaire d'Etat pour lui demander, si l'envoyé américain à St-Petersbourg ne lui avait pas transmis un exemplaire de ce document important. Monsieur Adams me dit, qu'il l'avait en sa possession, et il eût l'obligeance de me communiquer le "Conservateur Impartial" du 30 Septembre /2 Octobre de cette année, qui renfermait cette pièce in extenso.

Je m'attendais, Monsieur le Comte, à quelques observations à ce sujet, de la part de Monsieur Adams: mais il n'en fit aucune, il eut même l'air de n'y attacher aucune importance.

Les mêmes gazettes du pays ont également glissé, pour ainsi dire, sur une mesure de notre Gouvernement, qui devait par sa nature intéresser particulièrement les Etats Unis, que les gazettes Anglaises n'ont pas manqué de relever.

L'indifférence avec laquelle elle a été reçue dans ce pays m'a étonné d'autant plus qu'en comparant les limites des possessions de notre Compagnie Américaine, telles qu'elles avaient été fixées par la Charte du 27 Décembre 1799," avec celles qui leurs sont tracées par la nouvelle Charte, j'ai trouvé que les dites possessions ont obtenu une extension en latitude de près de six degrés.

Il est toutefois heureux que, malgré cet accroissement, les nouvelles limites ne touchent point encore à celles que les Etats Unis se sont appropriées par suite du Traité de Cession des Florides, et qui s'arrêtent au cinquantième degré de latitude du Nord à quelque chose près.

Je ne me permettrais point d'examiner ici, Monsieur le Comte, si le nouveau réglemen de Commerce adopté par notre compagnie d'Amérique a été sagement conçu ou non. J'avoue toute fois mon incompétence absolue à prononcer sur des matières de ce genre, mais je ne dois point laisser ignorer à Votre Excellence, que je me suis réjoui de voir la Compagnie Américaine proclamer hautement ses droits sous la sanction du Gouvernement Impérial, et quoiqu'il puisse arriver par la suite, ce

"Translation in *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 23-25. This charter gave limits "from the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude", the new ukase "to the fifty-first". Polética was soon undeceived as to the "indifference" of Adams or the public.

ne sera jamais par le Gouvernement Américain que ces droits pourront être contestés avec quelque droit de plausibilité, car il est notoire que la Russie avait des établissements sur la côte de Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, longtemps avant que les Etats eussent obtenu une existence politique indépendante.⁴⁸

C'est dans ce sens, Monsieur le Comte, que j'ai répondu jusqu'à présent, quoique en affectant un ton de plaisanterie, à toutes les questions qui m'ont été adressées à ce sujet dans des conversations particulières, et c'est toujours la même réponse que je me prépare à donner à toutes celles, qui pourraient m'être faites par la suite.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

XIV. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{21 \text{ Mars}}{2 \text{ Avril}}$ 1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence un office que j'ai reçu hier de la part de Mr. Adams, en réponse à celui que je lui avais adressé en date du 16/28 Février. J'y joins aussi ma réponse qui lui sera remise demain.⁴⁹

En examinant la substance de ce second office du secrétaire d'Etat Américain le Ministère Impérial jugera peut être comme moi, qu'il n'a été conçu que pour donner au Gouvernement Américain l'apparence de n'être pas resté court dans la discussion qu'il avait lui-même provoquée avec tant de précipitation touchant la nouvelle délimitation de nos possessions sur la côte Nord Ouest de l'Amérique et le règlement concernant la navigation étrangère dans ces parages.

Je serai heureux d'apprendre à mon retour en Europe, qui aura probablement eu lieu déjà, lorsque ce rapport arrivera à sa destination,⁵⁰ que mon langage dans cette discussion intéressante avec le Gouvernement Américain a été conforme aux vues du Ministère Impérial. Mais si quelque erreur m'a échappée, Votre Excellence observera que, dans ma dernière réponse à Mr. Adams, je n'ai point manqué de réserver au

⁴⁸ Polética's published statement to this effect, in his letter to Adams of February 28, 1822, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 861-862, was controverted at once in the *North American Review* for October, 1822 (XV. 370-401), in an article "written apparently by Captain William Sturgis".

⁴⁹ On February 11, N. S., 1822, Polética addressed to Adams the note printed in *American State Papers*, IV. 856, covering a copy of the ukase and mentioning the supplemental instructions set forth in the postscript to no. XI., above. Adams replied, requesting explanations, on February 25; *ibid.*, 861. Polética's letter of explanation, February 28, is printed *ibid.*, 861-862, and in *North American Review*, XV. 376-380. Notes of Adams, March 30, and of the Russian minister, April 2, followed; *ibid.*, 863-864.

⁵⁰ Polética returned soon to Russia, for reasons of health, and retired from his post at Washington. Adams's despatch to Middleton of May 13, 1822, *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 39, was sent by hand of Polética.

Gouvernement Impérial, la faculté de faire retomber sur moi la faute toute entière par le moyen [de] désaveu.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLETICA.

XV. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.⁵¹

Rec. 29 Juillet.
10 Août.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, le 13 Juill. 1822.

Monsieur le Baron,

La situation intérieure de la Monarchie Portugaise ne permettant pas de croire que Vous puissiez retourner de sitôt au poste que Vous occupez près la Cour de Lisbonne, L'Empereur a résolu de Vous donner une nouvelle preuve de la confiance qu'il place dans vos talents et dans Votre zèle pour Son service, en Vous appelant aux fonctions d'Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire auprès des Etats Unis d'Amérique.⁵²

Ces fonctions ont été remplies jusqu'à présent par Mr. de Poletica à l'entière satisfaction de Sa Majesté Impériale. Mais comme la santé de ce Ministre lui a fait éprouver le besoin de revenir en Europe, c'est vous que notre Auguste Maître charge de le remplacer, et Sa Majesté Impériale vous invite, Monsieur le Baron, à vous rendre à Washington aussitôt que vous aurez pu terminer les préparatifs nécessaires pour traverser l'Océan.

En vous confiant cette mission importante, l'Empereur compte d'autant plus sur les succès par lesquels vous justifierez Son choix, que devant, il y a plusieurs années, Le représenter auprès des Etats Unis, Vous avez, dès cette époque, pu connoître et méditer l'application qu' Il fait des maximes de Sa politique à Ses relations avec le Gouvernement de l'Amérique du Nord.

Cette politique continue toujours à être basée sur un sentiment de bienveillance naturelle, sur l'invariable désir de contribuer au maintien de la tranquillité, dont jouit le monde, sur la résolution de respecter tous les droits reconnus, et pour ce qui est plus spécialement des Etats-Unis, sur celle d'entretenir avec eux des rapports de paix et de bonne intelligence.

Nous ne pouvons donc à cet égard que nous référer aux dépêches qui vous ont été adressées en Juin et Juillet 1817 et que vous avez ensuite remises à Mr. de Polética, ainsi qu'aux instructions générales que ce dernier a successivement reçues depuis son départ de Moscou.

Il est d'un autre côté trois questions particulières, que vous aurez

⁵¹ A despatch of the same sense as the part of these instructions combating the American position in regard to the rights of Russia in the North Pacific was sent on the same day to Prince de Lieven, ambassador at London. Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 312.

⁵² Tuyl was at first destined to the Washington mission in 1817 (see note 5 above) but went instead to Lisbon. On August 16, 1821, he demanded from the Portuguese government his passports for London, maintaining that that government would not protect his house against insult if he did not illuminate it on the revolutionary anniversary of August 24, as he was determined not to do. The correspondence may be seen in *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. IX. He seems to have been in Paris at the date of nos. XV. and XVI.

à discuter avec le Cabinet de Washington, et nous allons vous indiquer le point de vue sous lequel l'Empereur les envisage.

La première concerne les intérêts de notre Compagnie Américaine.

Vous vous rappellerez, Monsieur le Baron, qu'au moment où vous alliez partir pour l'Amérique, les plaintes de cette Compagnie contre des aventuriers Américains, qui lui apportoient un préjudice notable, avoient déterminé l'Empereur à vous charger de vous entendre avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis sur les moyens de préparer un terme à des entreprises hautement condamnées par le droit des gens, et de placer le commerce de notre société Américaine sous des garanties réciproquement convenues, qui ne puissent, par là même, donner lieu à aucune réclamation.

Les ouvertures que nous avoit faites alors Mr. de Pinkney, Ministre des Etats-Unis,³³ sembloient autoriser l'espoir que cette négociation se termineroit sans difficulté. Mais le résultat que demandoient tous nos vœux, tarda malheureusement à s'accomplir. Les choses en vinrent au point que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, voyant l'année dernière la compagnie Russe-Américaine près de perdre tous les profits du commerce dont elle possède le légitime privilège, la chasse et la pêche se détériorer de plus en plus par les incursions continuelles de quelques sujets des Etats-Unis, et même un dangereux esprit de révolte se propager parmi les naturels de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique, grâce aux secours d'armes et de munitions qu'ils recevoient incessamment par la voye de la contrebande, prit enfin la résolution d'adopter des mesures sévères pour réprimer ces désordres.

Ce fut avec le plus vif regret que Sa Majesté Impériale eut recours à des moyens de rigueur. Toutefois Elle ne pouvoit ni refuser Sa protection à des établissements d'une haute importance pour la prospérité commerciale de la Russie, ni permettre, qu'à force de se répéter et de s'étendre, des tentatives coupables finissent un jour par détacher de Son Empire jusqu'aux contrées qui Lui appartiennent à tous les titres qu'assurent une première découverte, une première occupation et une possession non interrompue. L'Empereur résolut, par ces motifs, de soumettre la Compagnie Américaine à un nouveau règlement: et pour qu'elle ne fût plus troublée dans l'exercice de son privilège, pour que les sources qui alimentent son trafic de pelleterie pussent et se conserver et s'accroître, pour qu'en un mot, la stabilité des Colonies Russes sur la côte Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, cessât d'être compromise, l'Empereur rendit un Oukase qui parut le 4^e Septembre 1821.

Vous trouverez ci-près copie de cet Oukase [Litt. A],³⁴ qui fut communiqué à toutes les Puissances maritimes. Nos Ministres eurent ordre de leur communiquer également la circulaire ci-jointe [Litt. B], qui en justifiait les principales dispositions. Mr. de Polética reçut en outre les instructions ci-annexées qu'accompagnait un mémoire explicatif [Litt. C, D.] concernant les droits de la Russie sur toute l'étendue de côtes désignée dans l'Oukase de Sa Majesté Impériale et la nécessité où nous nous trouvions de reculer à cent milles d'Italie du continent les bornes de la surveillance confiée aux croisières que nous allions organiser dans ces parages.

³³ William Pinkney, envoy to Russia, 1816-1818.

³⁴ These references to accompanying documents are, in the original, written in the margin; "Litt. A" is the ukase (see note 43, above), B is our no. XI, C our no. XII., D a "Mémoire Explicatif" tracing the history of Russian enterprise in the North Pacific from the time of Peter the Great.

Nous le répétons, l'Empereur n'avoit adopté qu'à regret ces mesures rigoureuses, mais c'étoient les seules qui eussent été jugées capables de prévenir les pertes réelles et de mettre fin à des invasions qui se renouveloient journellement.

Porté à la connoissance du Cabinet de Washington le nouveau règlement provoqua néanmoins quelques observations de sa part. Dans un système de surveillance que des violations antérieures de nos droits sembloient rendre indispensables, on crut voir le désir de s'arroger sur les mers une juridiction plus étendue que celle qui est consacrée par l'usage entre les Puissances maritimes. Dans la fixation du degré de latitude jusqu'au quel cette surveillance devoit s'exercer pour devenir efficace, on prétendit signaler des vues d'agrandissement et de conquête. On alla même jusqu'à avancer dans des Journaux Anglois,—(*Quarterly Review*, No. LII, Mars 1822),⁸⁵ que depuis longtems des établissemens Britanniques s'étoient formés sur l'extrémité meridionale des côtes dont la Russie s'attribuoit la souveraineté exclusive.

Nous vous transmettons, Monsieur le Baron, copie de la correspondance [Litt. E, F, G, H],⁸⁶ qui a eu lieu à ce sujet entre Mr. Adams et Mr. de Polética. Quoique dans sa réponse en date du 1^{er} Fevrier celui-ci nous paroisse avoir établi de la manière la plus plausible, nos droits sur tout le littoral Américain jusqu'au degré de latitude marqué dans le règlement du 1^{er} Septembre 1821, quoiqu'il ait invoqué avec autant de raison que de force le témoignage des faits qui démontrent, qu'aucune idée d'ambition ne dirige la politique de la Russie, cependant, comme d'une part, les Etats-Unis réclament pour leurs sujets le pouvoir de visiter les côtes N. O. de l'Amérique avec plus de liberté que n'en comporte le règlement du 1^{er} Septembre, que de l'autre, des vaisseaux de la marine Impériale, expédiés depuis l'année dernière, ont ordre de veiller à la stricte exécution de ce même règlement, et qu'un tel état de choses pourroit facilement amener des collisions fâcheuses, l'Empereur qui désire avant tout que la meilleure intelligence continue de présider à tous Ses rapports avec les Puissances étrangères, va leur offrir dans cette conjoncture une preuve irréfutable de Sa constante modération.

Le véritable, l'unique but de l'Oukase du 1^{er} Septembre étoit d'arrêter des tentatives que toutes les loix des nations reconnoissent pour injustes, de protéger des intérêts dont certes aucun Etat ne contestera la légitimité. En effet, si le Gouvernement Américain réclame pour ses sujets une plus grande liberté de navigation, assurément il ne peut y comprendre celle de nuire au commerce de notre Compagnie d'Amérique; s'il avance que nos possessions ne s'étendent point de ce côté jusqu'au 51° de latitude septentrionale, il ne peut disputer à la Russie la souveraineté des pays et des parages que les Russes exploitent paisiblement depuis près d'un siècle; enfin si la Compagnie d'Amérique demande à Sa Majesté Impériale, pour le commerce de ses pelleteries, toute la protection que son privilège l'autorise à demander, le Gouvernement Américain ne saurait même émettre le vœu de voir l'Empereur se refuser aux mesures tutélaires que Ses sujets sont en droit d'attendre de Sa sollicitude et de Son autorité.

Maintenir ce qui a été sous ce rapport, et empêcher ce qui ne doit point être, voilà tout ce que Sa Majesté Impériale Se proposoit en

⁸⁵ The reference is to the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1822, not March. The article is in vol. XXVI., pp. 341-364.

⁸⁶ Notes of February 25, 28, March 30, April 2; see above, note 49.

rendant Son Décret du 4^e Septembre. C'est ce qu' Elle Se propose encore, et pour prouver que Ses désirs n'iront jamais plus loin, Elle vous charge, Monsieur le Baron, de déclarer au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à votre arrivée, que puisqu'il élève des plaintes contre les mesures prises l'année dernière dans la seule vue d'obtenir le résultat dont nous venons de parler, et puisqu'il a manifesté, par l'organe de Mr. Adams, dans sa lettre à Mr. de Polética en date du 25 Février, le regret de n'avoir pu concerter avec la Russie, au moyen d'une négociation préalable, un arrangement propre à concilier les intérêts des deux Puissances, Sa Majesté Impériale consent aujourd'hui même à l'ouverture de cette négociation, pourvu que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis s'engage à y apporter la volonté ferme et sincère, de faire cesser les réclamations qu'ont excitées les entreprises de ses sujets contre les établissemens que nous avons formés sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique.

Afin que la négociation dont il s'agit, ne soit point entravée par les voyes de fait, qui pourroient survenir entre les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale chargés de l'exécution du décret rendu le 4^e Septembre, et les batimens marchands que des sujets Américains auraient expédiés dans des intentions légitimes pour la côte ci-dessus mentionnée, nous venons d'adresser au Ministère des Finances, d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale, l'office dont copie ci-jointe [Litt. I].⁸⁷

Nous y établissons en principe que les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale exerceront leur surveillance aussi près des côtes que le permettront d'une part la nécessité d'empêcher le commerce interlope, les provocations à la revolte et les fournitures d'armes et de munitions, qui seroient faites aux naturels du pays à l'insçu des autorités constituées; de l'autre, l'obligation d'écarter les chasseurs ou pêcheurs étrangers des parages que fréquentent ceux de notre compagnie, ou qu'ils gardent après les avoir exploités, afin de laisser aux poissons et aux animaux à fourrure, le tems et la tranquillité qui leur sont nécessaires pour se reproduire.

Malgré ces considérations même, nos croisières ont ordre de s'éloigner des côtes le moins possible et de ne point pousser leurs courses au delà des latitudes sous lesquelles notre Compagnie Américaine a effectivement exercé son privilège de chasse et de pêche, depuis le renouvellement de sa charte en 1799.

Du reste il leur est prescrit de se conformer aux dispositions du règlement du 4^e Septembre 1821 en tout ce qui concerne les vaisseaux égarés, battus par la tempête ou entraînés par les courans. C'est aussi d'après les principes de ce règlement que continueront à être jugées les prises que les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale seroient encore dans le cas de faire malgré les nouvelles instructions qu'ils vont recevoir.

Il nous semble impossible de mieux démentir les projets d'envahissement que nous a prêtés la malveillance de quelques feuilles publiques. L'Empereur fonde toutes les dispositions provisoires dont nous avons tracé l'aperçu, sur la base incontestable d'une possession paisible et réelle. Nos mesures de précaution sont aussi modérées qu'elles peuvent l'être, et ce qui doit achever de convaincre les Etats-Unis de la pureté de nos intentions, c'est l'offre de convenir avec eux mêmes des garanties que nous réclamons contre les dommages que nous occasionneroit l'esprit trop souvent hostile de leurs navigateurs.

⁸⁷ " Copie d'un office au Comte Gourieff ". The substance of this document is repeated in instructions issued by Gourieff, minister of finance, and printed in the *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 40.

En combinant les ouvertures faites dans le tems par Mr. de Pinkney, et dont vous avez eu connoissance par nos dépêches du mois de Juillet 1817, avec le passage cité plus haut de la lettre que Mr. Adams a adressée à Mr. de Polética le 25 Fevrier de l'année courante, nous ne saurions révoquer en doute que le Cabinet de Washington ne s'empresse d'accueillir les propositions que vous allez lui porter et d'entamer une négociation sur les moyens de procurer à notre Compagnie Américaine la sécurité que nous demandons avec elle pour son commerce et pour nos possessions sur la côte N. O. du continent d'Amérique.

Après avoir démontré par la teneur des nouvelles instructions dont le Ministère de la marine va munir les vaisseaux, qui veillent à l'exécution de l'oukase du 4 Septembre, que de notre côté les vues les plus conciliantes hâteront autant que possible le terme de cette négociation, il nous resteroit à Vous faire connoître les bases de l'arrangement dont vous êtes chargé de convenir avec les Etats-Unis.

Vous aurez remarqué, Monsieur le Baron, que pour vous fournir sous ce rapport toutes les notions dont vous aurez besoin, nous avons fait inviter le Compagnie Américaine à nous envoyer un travail raisonné sur les mesures que pourroit prendre le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, pour que nos établissemens sur la côte N. O. du continent d'Amérique jouissent de toute la tranquillité que devoit leur assurer le règlement du 4^e Septembre et pour que le commerce qu'ils entretiennent avec la Russie n'ait plus d'attaque directe ni indirecte à écarter ou à craindre.

Dès que ces notions auront été recueillies nous aurons soin de Vous les transmettre. En attendant il nous semble que Votre négociation avec le Cabinet de Washington doit en tout état de cause, avoir un double objet.

1°. Puisque les dispositions de notre règlement du 4^e Septembre, qui interdisent l'approche de la côte jusqu'à la distance de 100 milles d'Italie, ont excité des plaintes de la part du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, que néanmoins nous ne pouvons permettre que les spéculations d'étrangers avides, minent sans obstacle notre commerce et nos établissemens, et que l'Empereur, quoiqu' autorisé à prémunir Ses possessions contre de semblables entreprises, consent de Son plein gré à restreindre provisoirement la surveillance dont Il a chargé Ses vaisseaux, et à éloigner des côtes le moins possible les croisières qu'exige le soin de leur défense, il est juste qu' aujourd'hui le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis prenne l'initiative des propositions et qu'il Vous fasse part des mesures aux quelles il se prêteroit dans la vue de nous garantir une complete sécurité, sans nous forcer à remettre en vigueur le règlement de l'année dernière.

Vous inviterez donc, Monsieur le Baron, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à combiner et à Vous faire parvenir ces propositions. Nous espérons que dans l'intervalle Vous aurez déjà sous les yeux les renseignements complémentaires dont il a été question plus haut; mais quand même Vous ne les auriez point encore reçus lorsque le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis Vous communiquera le premier aperçu des mesures préventives qu'il s'offrira d'adopter afin que l'Empereur puisse consentir définitivement à la modification de son décret du 4^e Septembre, Vous pourrez toujours les juger et les apprécier en les comparant, d'une part, avec l'exposé des griefs de la compagnie Américaine joint au mémoire, que nous vous avons transmis à ce sujet sous la date du 30 Juin 1817, de l'autre, avec le but indiqué dans ce même mémoire, but simple et incontestablement légitime, que nous avons défini en ces termes.

"La série des faits démontre jusqu'à l'évidence que la Compagnie d'Amérique n'a pas négligé les occasions d'établir des relations commerciales permanentes et réciproquement lucratives avec d'autres associations marchandes des Etats-Unis, occupées de trafic des pelleteries; que ces tentatives n'ont pas eu le succès qu'on s'en étoit promis; enfin qu'au défaut de combinaisons de ce genre, ce qui seroit à désirer, c'est que les sujets Américains voulussent s'abstenir de vendre les armes blanches, des armes à feu et des munitions de guerre dans les îles et le long des côtes, où la Compagnie possède des établissements et entretient un commerce d'échange avec les naturels du pays."

Cette idée générale des suretés qu'il s'agira d'obtenir et tout ce que nous avons déjà dit ailleurs relativement à la nécessité de réprimer un commerce frauduleux et d'empêcher que des spéculateurs étrangers ne détruisent la chasse et la pêche dans les parages exploités par la Compagnie Américaine, Vous suffira sans doute pour déterminer, même sans autre information, jusqu'à quel point seront satisfaisantes et acceptables les propositions que Vous recevrez de la part du Cabinet de Washington, en ce qui concernera la tranquillité de nos Colonies et de notre commerce.

2°. Le second objet de Votre négociation sera de fixer au moyen d'une convention de limites, comme nous avoit proposé Mr. de Pinkney, le point où s'arrêteront les possessions respectives de la Russie et des Etats-Unis sur la côte N. O. du continent de l'Amérique.

Le règlement du 1^{er} Septembre marquoit ce point pour la Russie au 51° de Latitude Nord. Bien qu'en portant nos limites à cette latitude nous n'ayons eu aucun projet d'invasion, ni de conquête, qu'au contraire le 51^{me} degré de latitude Nord ne fût, comme l'a observé Mr. de Polética dans sa lettre du 1^{er} 1/2^e Février, qu'un terme moyen entre l'établissement Russe de Novo-Archangelsk,⁸⁸ situé sous le 57^{me} degré, et la colonie Américaine de la rivière de Columbia qui se trouve sous 46^{me} parallèle,⁸⁹ et que le principe d'après lequel nous avons établi ce terme moyen eût été invoqué par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis lui même, ainsi que le prouve le mémoire explicatif qu'accompagne la pièce jointe à la présente dépêche sous la lettre D, nous n'avons négligé aucune recherche pour nous convaincre si c'étoit à tort ou avec raison qu'on s'étoit élevé contre la désignation du 51° de latitude Nord, comme extrémité méridionale de nos possessions sur la côte N. O. du continent de l'Amérique.

Un des Employés les plus distingués et les plus instruits du Ministère des Affaires étrangères nous a soumis à cet égard un travail, que nous nous fesons un devoir de Vous communiquer [Litt. K].⁹⁰

Les doutes qui en résultent ont engagé l'Empereur à faire donner pour instruction à Ses vaisseaux, l'ordre provisoire de ne point étendre leur surveillance au de là des latitudes sous lesquelles la Compagnie Américaine exerce ou a effectivement exercé ses droits de chasse et de pêche.

D'un autre côté, comme les Etats Unis nous ont offert, par l'organe de Mr. de Pinkney, de conclure avec nous *une convention de limites destinée à prévenir toute collision entre les occupants de quelques parties de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique sous l'autorité de la Russie et des Etats*

⁸⁸ Sitka.

⁸⁹ Astoria.

⁹⁰ "Opinion de M. de Blondoff", on the rights of the Russian-American Company.

Unis respectivement, Vous engagerez le Cabinet de Washington à vous faire connoître les bâses, sur lesquelles il désire arrêter cette Convention et le degré de latitude jusqu'auquel devroient, selon lui, s'étendre nos possessions territoriales.

Pour que Vous puissiez déterminer cette ligne sans léser aucun droit, Vous ne la fixerez pas définitivement sans avoir reçu des informations, que nous demandons à la Compagnie Américaine et qui sont relatives :

1°. Aux parages dans lesquels elle a exercé jusqu'à présent son droit de chasse et de pêche, et à leur latitude.

2°. Aux établissemens que d'autres compagnies pourroient avoir formés sur la même côte, et nommément à ceux qui appartiendroient aux sociétés Britanniques du Nord-Ouest et de la baie de Hudson (North-West et Hudson-Bay Compagny).

3°. Au point qui pourroit être assigné comme frontière que les établissemens et la juridiction territoriale de la Russie ne devroient franchir dans aucun cas, afin de ne pas envahir des territoires qui appartiendroient *de droit et de fait* à d'autres Puissances.

Nous engageons d'un autre coté Mr. le Comte de Lieven, à nous communiquer également toutes les notions qu'il pourra recueillir sur l'origine et l'époque des acquisitions faites par les Compagnies Anglaises du Nord-Ouest et de la Baie de Hudson, sur la nature de leurs rapports avec le gouvernement Britannique et sur la question de savoir si la Grande Bretagne réclame, et dans ce cas, en vertu de quels titres elle se croit autorisée à réclamer, la souveraineté des parages de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique, où l'on prétend que ces associations ont aujourd'hui des établissemens de commerce.

Tels sont, Monsieur le Baron, les deux objets de la négociation que vous ouvrirez avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Nous croyons pouvoir espérer qu'il ne méconnoitra point l'esprit de justice et de paix qu'attesteront vos démarches.

Au surplus, l'Empereur abandonne à Votre discernement d'entamer d'abord la question des limites, ou celle des mesures de police, ou bien même de les entamer simultanément l'une et l'autre, dès que Vous aurez fait la déclaration relative à la suspension provisoire du règlement rendu le 1^{er} Septembre 1821. Arrivé sur les lieux Vous pourrez juger du plan qu'il Vous sera plus avantageux de suivre et de la partie des négociations que Vous pourrez aborder la première avec une plus grande probabilité de succès.

Nous terminerons l'article qui regarde la Compagnie d'Amérique, en Vous prévenant que l'Empereur Vous invite à considérer comme subsistant dans toute leur force, les instructions renfermées dans notre mémoire du 30 Juin 1817 au sujet des renseignemens que Vous aurez à nous transmettre sur la conduite des Agens de cette société, tant envers les étrangers qu'envers les naturels du pays. Au cas que ceux-ci eussent des plaintes à élever, l'autorité toujours bienveillante de l'Empereur devroit en être avertie par Vous, afin de faire cesser aussitôt tous les actes d'inhumanité et de violence.

Outre les questions que nos droits et les intérêts de notre commerce nous commandoient de discuter ici, nous en avons mentionné deux autres que Vous aurez probablement occasion d'agiter avec le Cabinet de Washington.

Le Congrès des Etats Unis a formellement reconnu l'indépendance et l'existence politique des Colonies de l'Amérique Espagnole.⁶¹

⁶¹ House resolutions of March 28, 1822.

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Il n'appartient pas à la Russie d'entrer dans l'examen des motifs qui ont porté le Congrès à cette résolution. Sans doute il n'aura fait qu'obéir à la loi d'une nécessité impérieuse en votant une mesure dont l'exemple tendroit à invalider les droits les plus légitimes, quand même ils seroient consacrés, comme ils le sont dans cette circonstance, par une possession de plusieurs siècles. Pour ce qui est de la politique Européenne, elle a été heureusement libre de suivre d'autres principes, et quels que soient les rapports, où une déplorable révolution ait placé l'Espagne avec les principales Puissances de l'Europe, ces dernières se sont empressées de lui donner un nouveau témoignage de la sincérité des vœux qu'elles forment pour son véritable bien être. Les ouvertures de Mr. de Zéa, prétendu Agent de la république de Columbia,²⁸ n'ont été accueillies par aucune des Cours Alliées. La France paroît décidée à ne pas préjuger l'issue des tristes différends qui se sont élevés entre l'Espagne et ses provinces d'outre-mer. L'Autriche et la Prusse ont annoncé les mêmes déterminations. L'Angleterre, tout en accordant à ses intérêts commerciaux ce qu'elle a cru ne pouvoir leur refuser, va néanmoins notifier au Cabinet de Madrid, qu'elle l'engage à combiner encore, s'il le juge possible, à mettre en oeuvre les moyens qui lui restent pour faire reconnoître par les Colonies insurgées l'autorité de leur ancienne métropole. Nous mêmes enfin, nous venons d'adresser à l'Espagne, la réponse dont copie ci-jointe [Litt. L], et nous en avons développé les motifs dans la circulaire ci-annexée [Litt. M], qu'ont reçue à cette occasion, les Ambassadeurs et Ministres de Sa Majesté Impériale près les Cours de Vienne, de Paris, de Londres et de Berlin.²⁹

Ce sera sur le texte de ces deux pièces que Vous réglerez Votre langage. Les Etats-Unis devoient s'attendre à voir l'existence politique des Colonies Espagnoles considérée en Europe d'un point de vue bien différent de celui sous lequel leur Gouvernement et leur Congrès l'avoient envisagée. Mais au moins ont-ils déclaré qu'ils seroient loin d'empêcher l'Espagne de s'entendre avec ses peuples d'Amérique et de ressaisir l'exercice de ses droits, si elle en trouvoit le pouvoir. Nous nous plaignons à espérer qu'ils persisteront dans ce système de neutralité, et peut être une semblable résolution fidèlement accomplie de leur part, préviendra-t-elle tout acte d'hostilité directe entre la Cour de Madrid et l'Amérique du Nord. Si la connoissance du désir qu'auroit l'Empereur de voir cet état de paix se prolonger, pouvoit porter le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à ne modifier en rien les dispositions qu'il a manifestées envers l'Espagne et à ne pas s'armer contre elle dans la lutte que soutiennent ses provinces d'Outre-mer, vous n'hésiteriez point à exprimer les vœux de Sa Majesté Impériale. Dans des circonstances qui présentent plus d'une analogie, et lorsque la guerre étoit prête à éclater au sujet des Florides, Votre prédécesseur a eu le bonheur de contribuer à prévenir une rupture. Nous n'avons pas besoin de Vous dire, combien il seroit agréable à l'Empereur que vos représentations amicales fussent couronnées du même succès.

Le dernier objet sur le quel nous ayons ordre d'appeler aujourd'hui Votre attention, a rapport aux conséquences de la décision arbitrale émise en dernier lieu par notre Auguste Maître sur le vrai sens de

²⁸ Francisco Antonio Zea (1770-1822), the same mentioned in no. III., above.

²⁹ A note to Argais, ambassador of Spain, June 13, and a despatch sent at the same time to Golovkin, Pozzo di Borgo, Lieven, and Alopeus.

l'Article I du Traité signé à Gand le 24 Décembre 1814 entre les Etats-Unis et la Grande Bretagne.⁶⁶

A la suite de cette décision dont les deux Parties nous ont paru également satisfaites, et que nous avons communiquée, tant à Mr. de Polética qu'au Lieutenant Général Pozzo di Borgo, par nos dépêches en date du 24 Avril, l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et le Ministre des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont témoigné le désir de conclure, sous la médiation de la Russie, une convention sur le mode d'après le quel leurs Gouvernements procéderaient à la fixation des indemnités que la Grande Bretagne se trouveroit devoir aux citoyens des Etats-Unis.

Cette convention est sur le point d'être signée:⁶⁷ les deux Puissances nommeront chacune un commissaire et un arbitre. Ceux-ci commenceront par fixer suivant les témoignages les plus authentiques, la valeur moyenne des esclaves aux Etats Unis à l'époque de l'échange des ratifications du Traité de Gand, et s'ils ne parviennent point à s'accorder, ils auront recours à l'arbitrage du Ministre de Russie, résidant à Washington. Lorsque la valeur moyenne des esclaves aura été déterminée, les Commissaires respectifs examineront la légalité des réclamations qui leur seront soumises. S'ils ne peuvent pas s'entendre sur le mérite d'une réclamation ils tireront au sort le nom d'un des deux arbitres, formeront avec lui un comité spécial chargé de discuter itérativement la prétention litigieuse, et toutes les questions seront décidées à la majorité des voix.

Nous ignorons encore, si la Russie sera partie contractante dans la convention dont il s'agit, ou si l'Empereur se contentera d'y accéder; mais Sa Majesté Impériale vous autorise, Monsieur le Baron, à accepter l'office d'arbitre s'il Vous est déféré dans le cas indiqué ci-dessus, dès qu'une copie authentique de cette même Convention Vous aura été remise au nom du Gouvernement Anglais et du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

Pour compléter la présente expédition, nous joignons ici Vos lettres de créance [Litt. N] et les lettres de créance de Mr. de Polética [Litt. O].

L'Empereur Vous laisse maître de Vous embarquer soit en Angleterre, soit dans un des ports de France, selon que Vous le jugerez plus convenable.⁶⁸

Sa Majesté Impériale désirerait néanmoins que Vous puissiez accélérer Votre départ autant que possible, et nous ne doutons point que Vous ne Lui offriez ce premier gage de l'empressement que Vous

⁶⁶ Award of April 22, 1822. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 220. See Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 350-363, and Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 282-298. Bagot, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, writes to the British Foreign Office, February 10/22, 1822, that Nesselrode and Capodistrias had disagreed about the interpretation of article I. of the treaty of Ghent, and that a third person had been called in who disagreed with both. P. R. O., F. O. Russia, 135. On April 24/May 6, he writes that the emperor has made a personal examination of the case, and decided it. *Ibid.*, 136.

⁶⁷ Convention of June 30/July 12, 1822. Malloy, *Treaties*, I. 634-638. See Moore, I. 363-382.

⁶⁸ Tuyll was at Liverpool at the beginning of November. *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 112. That his failure to hasten to America was strongly disapproved at St. Petersburg, will appear from no. XVIII., in the second installment of these papers.

mettez à remplir Ses ordres. Elle compte sur Votre zèle comme sur Vos talens, et Se félicite de Vous fournir une nouvelle occasion de les déployer.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très-distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

XVI. CAPODISTRIAS TO TUYLL.

Rec. 29 Juillet.
10 Août.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, ce 13 Juillet 1822.

Votre lettre du $\frac{2}{21}$ Juin m'est parvenue, mon cher Baron, au moment même où l'Empereur venoit de prendre à Votre égard une décision entièrement conforme à Nos désirs, et qui Vous présente les moyens de Lui donner encore une fois la preuve des talens qui Vous distinguent et du zèle que Vous apportez à Son service. Je Vous en offre mes plus sincères félicitations, et fidèle à mes anciennes habitudes, je vais, avant que l'Atlantique Vous sépare de notre vieille Europe, causer un instant avec Vous, des affaires que Vous confie notre Auguste Maître. La plus importante de toutes, est celle qui concerne notre Compagnie d'Amérique. Dans sa correspondance avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, Mr. Poletica a fait un emploi habile et judicieux de tous les arguments, que le Ministère Impérial s'étoit fait un devoir de lui fournir en faveur de notre règlement du $\frac{4}{18}$ Septembre de l'année dernière. D'après les ordres que Vous recevez, il est probable que Vous ne serez plus dans le cas de poursuivre la même discussion. Cependant il seroit bon qu'avant de quitter Paris, Vous Vous donnassiez la peine de consulter les publicistes et de recueillir toutes les citations des anciens principes de droit maritime, qui peuvent nous justifier d'avoir assigné un ressort de cent milles d'Italie à notre juridiction sur la mer qui baigne les côtes N. O. du continent Américain. Vous pourrez entre-autres Vous appuyer de l'exemple du Traité d'Utrecht entre l'Angleterre et la France. L'article XII. de cette transaction avoit interdit aux sujets français l'exercice du droit de pêche dans les mers voisines de l'Isle de Terre-neuve et de la nouvelle Ecosse jusqu'à la distance de trente lieues.⁷⁷ On pourroit Vous objecter, il est vrai, que dans ces trente lieues se trouve compris le banc de Terre-neuve et qu'il est physiquement impossible de s'approcher d'un banc de sable avec des bâtimens de quelque grandeur. Cependant, si l'on considère que notre défense et celle que porte l'Art. XII. du Traité d'Utrecht tendent au même but, si d'autre part on calcule la différence de la lieue ou mille d'Italie, on trouvera qu'il existe entre les deux cas une analogie réelle, que l'étendue où les deux actes interdisent l'exercice du droit de pêche comprend un espace presqu'égal; et il restera surtout prouvé, qu'une interdiction de ce genre n'est point une chose entièrement nouvelle comme on l'a prétendu, et que dans le dernier siècle une grande Puissance maritime s'y est soumise de son plein gré. Au surplus, mon cher Baron, la déclaration que Vous êtes chargé de faire dès Votre

⁷⁷ Of Nova Scotia, but not of Newfoundland: "that the subjects of the Most Christian King shall hereafter be excluded from all kinds of fishing in the said seas, bays, and other places, on the coasts of Nova Scotia, that is to say, on those which lie towards the southeast, within 30 leagues, beginning from the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the southwest."

arrivée en Amérique, doit nécessairement applanir toutes les difficultés. Nous avons lieu d'espérer, qu'à la suite de cette déclaration, Vous négociez avec succès. Vos antécédens nous en répondent, la modération et la prudence qui Vous caractérisent, sont connues, et d'ailleurs, autant que nous pouvons juger des intentions du Gouvernement Américain par le langage de son Ministre, il nous semble permis de croire à la réussite de vos démarches. Il y a quelques jours que Mr. de Middleton, diplomate peu communicatif en général, et qui ne s'écarte probablement jamais des instructions qu'il reçoit, fit tomber sur le règlement du 1^{er} Septembre un entretien que j'avois avec lui.²⁹ D'après cette conversation, je présume que les Etats-Unis ne demandent pas mieux que de convenir avec nous des limites à tracer entre leur territoire et le notre; qu'ils ne sont pas dans l'intention d'étendre leurs Colonies sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; qu'ils finiront par reconnoître les frontières définitives que nous jugerons convenable d'assigner à nos possessions sur cette même côte, enfin que dans cette partie de Vos négociations Vous n'aurez pas de très-grands obstacles à vaincre. Il me paroît même, toujours d'après mon entretien avec Mr. de Middleton, que ce ne sont pas nos mesures de police qui ont motivé les réclamations des Etats-Unis. Ils ne se dissimulent pas la nécessité où nous sommes, d'aviser aux moyens de réprimer et de prévenir la contrebande. Leur intérêt est aussi d'empêcher qu'elle ne paralyse le commerce régulier dans ces parages, et par une conséquence de cet intérêt commun, peut-être les engagerez-Vous sans beaucoup de difficultés, à nous assurer les garanties que nous demandons contre des entreprises qui compromettent la sécurité de nos établissemens, et qui bientôt rendroient de nulle valeur le privilège de notre Compagnie Américaine. Dès lors il nous seroit possible de révoquer définitivement les dispositions relatives aux cent milles d'Italie, où la navigation étoit interdite à tout vaisseau étranger, et de ne surveiller que l'espace de mer, qu'un usage général place sous la juridiction de toute Puissance maîtresse d'une côte. Dans cette hypothèse nos différends avec les Etats-Unis seroient complètement ajustés. Vous en auriez l'honneur, mon cher Baron, et, je Vous le répète, nous espérons que Vous l'aurez, car tout ce que je Vous mande, m'a été dit par Mr. de Middleton, qui certainement ne se seroit pas avancé aussi loin, s'il n'étoit sûr d'être approuvé par son Gouvernement.

Je ne Vous parle pas des grands intérêts de l'Europe. Vous avez eu le temps de les méditer sur un des points où ils se décident en grande partie. Puissiez Vous dans l'autre hémisphère oublier tous les maux dont celui-ci offre, ou l'affligeant spectacle, ou la trop légitime appréhension.

Adieu, mon cher Baron, mes vœux Vous suivront partout, et notre mutuelle amitié saura, j'aime à le croire, franchir encore une fois l'Océan.

Votre dévoué Ami,

CAPODISTRIAS.

A. Mr. C. Gl. Baron de Thuyll, etc., etc.

(To be continued.)

²⁹ A review of the negotiations to August 8 of this year, by Middleton, is to be found in his despatch of that date to Adams, *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 42-44.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Allgemeine Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte. Von ALFR. VIERKANDT, LEOP. WENGER, MART. HARTMANN, O. FRANKE, K. RATHGEN, ARN. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, O. HINTZE. Erste Hälfte. [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, II., ii, 1.] (Berlin and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1911. Pp. vii, 373.)

THIS work is a part of that enormous structure known as *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, now in the process of erection. As the general announcement of the series has it, the object is to "furnish in generally understandable language, and from the pens of the intellectual leaders of our age, a systematically arranged and historically grounded presentation of the culture of the present, by bringing together in their main outlines the fundamentals of each department of culture, according to their significance for the culture of the present and its future development".

So we are to have in a single series a summary of the knowledge to which the twentieth century is heir. It does not probably fall within the present reviewer's task to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of this scheme; and yet the judgment of the present volume is in some way conditioned by one's attitude toward the plan as a whole. It is apparent from the volume before us that the work belongs somewhere between an encyclopaedia (such as the *Britannica*) and a collection of popular works on the fields here treated. It can, after all, be a work of reference only; on the one hand, the scope of each volume precludes original investigation and treatment of its material; and, on the other, the work as a series is too extensive to give that impression of the oneness of our knowledge and of our civilization which seems to be the basis and the conception of the project. It may be an advantage to have all the sources of our civilization brought together in a single series and presented in an authoritative way; but the American reader, temperamentally, perhaps, not unsatisfied with a "pluralistic universe", will be more likely to be repelled than attracted by the necessity of fitting each part into the concept of knowledge as a whole.

The field of knowledge is divided in the plan of the series into four main parts: philosophy, literature, and art; political and social sciences; mathematics and natural sciences; technical or applied sciences. The compartment into which the present volume fits is labelled the first half of the second section of part two. The whole work of which this is the first volume is a general history of political and constitutional develop-

ment. This volume deals with the forms of society in Oriental states, with the origin of European political society in the Greek and Roman states, and with the constitutional history of Germany from the tribal days to 1806. The second volume presumably will deal with the constitutional history of the other states of Europe.

The material treated in this volume is as follows: first, a general introduction, by Alfred Vierkandt, dealing with the beginnings of political life among primitive peoples. This is an interesting essay on the natural tendencies which produce political organization, the gradual evolution of the idea of the state, the principal types of government, and the beginnings of state justice, state economic control, and state finance. Section A deals with political and constitutional development in the Orient in two main parts: first, in ancient times (Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and India) by Leopold Wenger, and secondly, among the still existing Oriental states (Islam, by Martin Hartmann, China, by Otto Franke, and Japan, by Karl Rathgen). The second main division, section B, deals with the constitutional and political history of European peoples. First is a treatise by Leopold Wenger on the state in antiquity, which means the Greek and Roman institutions: the beginnings of the Graeco-Roman city-state, tribal kingship, government by nobles, democracy, monarchy; the particular forms of sovereignty (machinery of government, state finance, state military control, and economic control). The rest of the volume (150 pages) is devoted to the constitutional and political development among the Germans and in the Germanic empire (the "Holy Roman Empire of the German race", as the Germans like to call it).

Judged by those parts of the present volume in regard to which the reviewer has any competence at all, the work presents in a well-organized way the present generally accepted views on all these subjects. It is obvious that it cannot well contain new and original matter (as, for example, in a constitutional history of the Germans and the empire in 150 pages), nor indeed matter not otherwise easily accessible. The work therefore is a summary of existing knowledge, and as such is very well done and is useful and acceptable.

E. H. M.

Papers on Inter-Racial Problems: communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911. Edited, for the Congress Executive, by G. SPILLER. (London: P. S. King and Son; Boston: The World's Peace Foundation. 1911. Pp. xlvii, 485.)

THE amazing and confusing variety of the contents of this volume forms a monument to the indefatigable versatility of the organizer of the congress. It is doubtful if the collection possesses any real, permanent value as an instrumentality for promoting either the harmony of races or the peace of the world.

The object of the congress is stated to be the discussion, "in the light of science and the modern conscience, [of] the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation". This is a most worthy purpose, but the very terms in which it is stated would seem to preclude the participation of anyone not in sympathy with it as something within the realm of practical accomplishment. It is natural, then, that these papers should present, as a whole, a rather one-sided view of the general subjects which they discuss. There could be no place in such a congress for the cold-blooded individual who would insist upon suggesting the possible instability of the vision of universal racial brotherhood, as a workable reality. Yet there is an occasional discordant note in the papers themselves, while the press accounts of the meeting suggested that there was much genuine discussion, which brought to light wide differences of opinion.

In the absence of a report of the actual proceedings of the congress, we are limited to a consideration of what is merely a collection of detached papers, each representing an individual view of a particular subject. A review of such a collection in its entirety, within any reasonable restrictions of space, is a hopelessly impossible undertaking. A glance at the list of subjects will support this suggestion, made after a faithful reading of the entire contents of the volume. A session on "fundamental considerations" was given to papers on the Meaning of Race, Tribe, Nation; Anthropological View of Race; Race from the Sociological Standpoint; the Problem of Race Equality. Another session, on "conditions of progress", embraces papers of the following titles: the Rationale of Autonomy; Influence of Geographic, Economic, and Political Conditions; Language as a Consolidating and Separating Influence; Religion as a Consolidating and Separating Influence; Differences in Customs and Morals, and their Resistance to Rapid Change; On the Permanence of Racial Mental Differences; the Intellectual Standing of Different Races and their Respective Opportunities for Culture; the Present Position of Woman; Instability of Human Types; Climatic Control of Skin-Colour; the Effects of Racial Miscegenation.

These two sections alone would constitute a pretty formidable programme for the average learned society in this country, but they are merely preliminary. A second session is given to "conditions of progress", in which the subjects discussed are: Tendencies towards Parliamentary Rule; China; Japan; Shintoism; Turkey; Persia; the Bahai Movement; East and West in India; Egypt; the People and Government of Haiti; Hungary; the Rôle of Russia in the Mutual Approach of the West and the East. This is sufficiently appalling, but it is not all. Some thirty additional papers are presented, under the following general heads: Special Problems in Inter-Racial Economics; Peaceful Contact between

Civilisations; the Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions (General); the Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions (the Negro and the American Indian); Positive Suggestions for Promoting Inter-Racial Friendliness.

It is unlikely that any symposium ever boasted a list of more eminent contributors. Fouillée, Reinsch, Sergi, Boas, Wu Ting-Fang, Kato, David Lubin, Felix Adler, Zangwill, Olivier, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Harry Johnston, Du Bois, are a mere handful out of a bewildering array of internationally distinguished names. That of Booker T. Washington is conspicuous by its absence. As a collection of the opinions of such men on their respective subjects, the volume has an unquestioned value. As a means to the end of promoting brotherly love, universal concord, and world peace, the Universal Races Congress must yet justify its creation and existence. Race and color and creed still remain race and color and creed. The dismemberment of Persia is not stayed by resolutions of a harmony congress held in London and participated in by St. Petersburg. Turkey and Italy scarcely cease to fight before Turkey and the Balkans begin. Human nature is human nature still.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

L'Arbitrage International chez les Hèlènes. Par A. RAEDER. [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, Tome I.] (Christiania: H. Aschehoug and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. 324.)

THIS is the first of a series of publications to be issued by the Nobel Institute in the interest of international peace. It is not, however, a partizan work. The author has wisely contented himself with stating and analyzing the facts. He does not even let the reader know whether or not he himself favors resort to a court in all cases of international disagreement.

Impartiality of this sort is all the more praiseworthy in that the record which he lets speak for itself does not tell a clear story. International arbitration is a branch of international law and the Greeks were the originators of the one as of the other. Most of what this gifted people produced we may trace to their method of political organization in city-states—their systems of domestic law, for example, without which their international law is inconceivable. The city-states, however, were formed into loose groups by the existence of various comprehensive *ethne*, and into a visionary nation by linguistic, religious, and cultural affinities. The bonds were not strong, but they fostered the growth of interurban, that is to say, international law. International arbitration has thus no lowly origin, but takes its rise in some of the highest yearnings of the Greek people. This mode of averting war is shown by Raeder to be also a concomitant of political progress in that among the Greek states Athens particularly championed its application. It was often ineffectual. Thus Raeder does not fail to note that despite the

inclusion of a stipulation for compulsory arbitration of all differences in the treaties made by Athens, Sparta, and Argos between 445 and 418 B. C. it was by a resort to the arbitrament of war that the great national questions of that epoch were settled. He even emphasizes the fact that the successive *hegemons* of Greece frequently constrained their allied or subject cities to arbitrate disputes, to the end (certainly with the result) that they themselves tyrannized with less disturbance and danger. He does not gloss over the five notorious instances in which the same controversy was "settled" by arbitration again and again, the case being reopened every time a change in the political constellation gave the defeated party hope of a different issue. In general Raeder thinks that arbitration proved successful as a solution of grave international problems in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., when there existed in Greece a group of autonomous states—before the growth of irreconcilable antagonism between Sparta and Athens had divided the whole civilized world into two hostile camps. Thereafter nothing could avert war. It again achieved many peaceful triumphs in the Hellenistic age, and, as *arbitrage compromissaire*, it reached its largest application in this, the culminating epoch of Greek political development. Rome used it merely as an instrument of government.

The value of Raeder's book does not consist in the novelty of the conclusions reached. These may be found much more quickly, for example, in Westermann's brief article on "Interstate Arbitration in Antiquity" (*Classical Journal*, II. 197 ff., 1907). The work has other merits. Over three-eighths of it is really a case book of the subject, a critical account of the eighty-one known instances of the successful, unsuccessful, or merely mooted application of judicial treatment to international troubles in Greece. Most of the remainder is devoted to a classification of the instances from various standpoints—their chronological and geographical distribution, their connection with imperial and federal schemes, their subject-matter. Procedure before, during, and after the trial is carefully examined.

The work seems as a whole well done. Occasionally an instance is not dated as precisely as it might have been, no. xxxviii, for example. Few omissions have been noticed. The case of the dispute between Hiero of Syracuse and Thero of Agrigentum in which Simonides, the poet, officiated as arbitrator is missing in the catalogue. The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (II. 4) ought to have been cited for the permanent board of dicasts in the Boeotian League. Some readers may perhaps think an allusion to Phillipson's big work on *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (II. 127 ff.) desirable. No one will fail to censure the absence of an index. The translation into French was made by M. Synnestvedt, *docteur en droit* of the University of Paris.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Early History of the Christian Church. By Monsignor LOUIS DUCHESNE, Membre de l'Académie Française. Volume I., *From its Foundation to the End of the Third Century.* Volume II., *From its Foundation to the End of the Fifth Century.* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909, 1912. Pp. xx, 428; xix, 544.)

IN spite of its remarkable title-page, the second of these volumes begins where the first leaves off and covers no more than the fourth century. The author is not responsible for the designation. The unnamed translator has been very successful in producing an English version which affords the same pleasure as the French original. There is no apparent reason for some bold simplifications in the rendering, which do no injury, however, to the idea, but we can only applaud many slight and adroit intensifications of phrase (I. 355, "The good folk of Laodicea", *les gens*, etc.; II. 11, "clearly faked", *prétendu évidemment*; III. 305, "even to the last stiver", *jusqu'à la dernière obole*). This is the way to avoid the lagging effect which a translation often has and this is the way to convey the impression of Mgr. Duchesne's vivacity.

With so good a translation there need be little hesitation in commending Duchesne's work as superior to all other accounts of the early Church for those who wish a readable book and not a painful manual. Professional students would in any case weigh it carefully as expressing the judgment of an accomplished investigator of scientific spirit, but they will also have the pleasure which the general reader demands.

The second volume, which deals with the fourth century, is specially admirable. To grasp the confused and wearisome controversies of that age a student is often glad to be able simply to chart the general movement with whatever loss of the concrete conditions and personal characteristics of the actors. This brilliant exposition not only makes the development of things intelligible but refreshes the starved imagination and kindles interest by pictures of definite neighborhoods and of the actual people who lived in them and conditioned one another's action. We may not be satisfied until the tale of these human actions and passions and faiths gratifies the reflective needs of sociological or doctrinal inquiry, but the first thing is to know the story which excites these argumentative interests and it is the story that Duchesne offers us. His constructive effort is that of the painstaking historian who has also the eye of an artist and plastic skill in conveying what he has learned to see. Who will forget why Gregory of Nazianz had a horror of Sasima? "It was a desolate place, only a few houses round a posting station. There was no water, no vegetation: nothing but dust, and the never-ceasing noise of passing carts. As to inhabitants, there were only vagabonds, strangers, or executioners with their victims who could be heard groaning and clanking their chains" (II. 314). What reader can fail to feel the emotions of the hesitating throng that saw Theodosius restore

orthodoxy in St. Sophia? "The weather was grey; autumn clouds veiled the morning sky. Was the rain going to fall upon the Council of Nicaea? Arians and Catholics looked up to the heavens with very different desires. Gregory entered the darkened basilica, and while the imperial procession took its place in the tribunes, he sat down in the apse beside the episcopal throne. Just at that moment, the sun, bursting through the clouds, shed its rays through all the windows; it saluted the victory. Shouts rang out: 'Gregory, Bishop!' But Gregory, bewildered and speechless, proved unequal to the greatness of the occasion. In his stead, another bishop called upon all those present to recall their thoughts for the celebration of the sacred mysteries" (II. 341). The vivid little vignette of Arius (II. 99) is another illustration of this graphic power, and the piquant humor with which Duchesne narrates such matters as the career of Jerome or the "ascetic indiscretions" of the early monks is a delightful and effective substitute for comment.

In accordance with this habit of seeing things concretely we have a valuable geographical treatment of the subject. In the first volume, very naturally, the reader finds himself viewing the development in Rome as the central point and when he is led to other scenes in Africa or the East descriptive touches and historical remark make them scenes and not mere names of localities.

There can be no question of the scientific candor with which this account is written. The discussion of the origins of the episcopate (I. 66 ff.) has been read by some as betraying deference to ecclesiastical constraint but the only apparent constraint lies in the facts which are to be explained. Frankness and absence of bias appear in the clear, decisive way in which the Roman see is shown to have had no central authority in the fourth century: "the Papacy, such as the West knew it later on, was still to be born". The primacy of the Roman Church in the first two centuries is justly expressed. The treatment of the obscure and difficult case of Pope Marcellinus (II. 72) is evidence enough of scientific conscience and frankness.

If we look for limitations, we may venture to think that Mgr. Duchesne is not the man to write a history of doctrine. The doubt occurs when we find that he derives Gnosticism from the Jewish Philo, or when he accepts Photius's misrepresentation of the Alexandrian Clement, or when he deems Origen's system "scarcely recognizable as Christianity". For the Alexandrian school he has no sympathy, and he fails to measure justly its importance in the development of theology. With theologians and their schools, indeed, Mgr. Duchesne deals a little superciliously, regarding their work as an effort to compromise religion and philosophy. Religion here is the tradition of the Church—not a tradition of blind feeling but a tradition of faiths requiring intellectual statement. Mgr. Duchesne is able to state the faith of present-day Christians and to identify it with that of the generality of Christians in the Apostolic age (I. 32), but at this point, it may be feared, the caution

of the critical historian has been somewhat relaxed. There are many indications that under the control of his conception of the tradition he overstrains many an early utterance. It would not be difficult to dispute, for example, his understanding of II Clement I. 1, and in that connection to challenge his whole view. It is more profitable, however, to emphasize the positive merits of this important work, and the gratifying fact is that a master in historical study presents his results with such lucidity and charm.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte. (DAHLMANN-WAITZ.)

Herausgegeben von PAUL HERRE. Achte Auflage. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1912. Pp. xx, 1290.)

THE slender guide to books on German history which Dahlmann published for his students in 1830, and which was given by Waitz in 1869 a new and improved arrangement, has, after more than fourscore years, reached proportions of which its original author never dreamed. In its new eighth edition, this "handbook" of 1290 pages, solidly bound, classifies over 32,000 separate works (as nearly as one can judge by several calculations), grouped under 13,380 numbers. It has been prepared under the experienced editorship of Paul Herre, assisted by forty-two co-workers, most of whom are already men of note. Such subdivision of labor has made possible intensive expert work in each field. A full table of contents shows the subjects for which each contributor is responsible, and at the same time makes clear the general plan according to which the books are classified. It contains nearly 10,000 more items than the seventeenth edition, published only six years ago. The general plan of the book remains the same, but there are a few modifications of a minor character: improvements have been made in the marginal catchwords and the page-headings so that the user finds his place more easily; space is saved by using a much smaller type for less important works; new sections on *Methodologie* by Bernheim, on *Landeskunde und Topographie* by Köttschke, and on *Bibliothekskunde* by Brandi have been introduced; and the space devoted to works dealing with the history of Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century has been considerably increased. As the editor succeeded in getting the last page through the press before the first pages were eight months old, he has been able, so he says, to include practically all important books which appeared before the spring of the present year.

One regrets the absence of the asterisks which, in some of the earlier editions, and in such bibliographies as those of Gross and Monod, give the beginner a clue to the works which are most important; this innocent, helpful device, which takes practically no space, has been eschewed by the editors with the same scientific severity as in the seventh edition,

"um die hier unvermeidliche Subjektivität des Urteils der einzelnen Bearbeiter möglichst auszuschalten". That a bibliography which gives some very brief characterizations of the books mentioned is desired and used, is evidenced by the popularity of Victor Loewe's little, critical guide which has reached a third edition (1910) within ten years. Even the very briefest critical notes, however, are unfortunately quite out of the question in a one-volume work which aims at such comprehensiveness as this eighth edition of *Dahlmann-Waits*.

The editors have not felt obliged by any means to rescue from oblivion all doctoral dissertations and *Schulprogramme*; they have exercised wise discrimination. On the other hand, they do not appear to have paid great attention to works in other languages than German. Important works in the Slavic languages (with the exception of some bibliographies) are not given. "Andrew White", author of *Aus meinem Diplomatleben*, is indexed as being a different person from the author of the *Geschichte der Fehde zwischen Wissenschaft und Theologie*. In cases of translations from familiar modern languages it is a question whether in bibliographical works it would not be better to follow the practice of Professor Gross and give the title and date of the edition of the original language, adding the fact of its translation, rather than to give only the data of the translated edition.

In spite of any differences of opinion as to omissions or inclusions, no student of German history can have any feeling except that of profound gratitude for the care and comprehensiveness with which Dr. Herre and his forty-two *Mithelfer* have accomplished the burdensome task of bringing up to date this indispensable historical guide.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions.

By CARLTON HUNTLEY HAYES, Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Columbia University. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXXIII., no. 3.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. 229.)

THE title of this volume of the *Studies* reveals its nature. It is a review of the sources of our knowledge about the Germans before the migrations and about the migrations themselves. It consists of discussions of all the Greek and Latin writers whose works deal with this movement, with frequent translated extracts from their writings, and with brief (but adequate) sketches of the historical background. It makes very clear the impression which the author seeks to convey, "of the fragmentary character, the irrelevancy, the lack of critical insight, the hopeless inadequacy, which distinguish almost all the existing material".

The writers discussed range in time from Caesar to Paul the Lombard. The writers before Theodosius the Great are disposed of rather

summarily in about sixty pages, in chapters on Plutarch, Caesar, Tacitus, the early historians and geographers, and the narrative sources of the second, third, and fourth centuries. The larger part of the work deals with writers contemporary with the invasions, from Theodosius to Justinian, with a chapter on the sources from Justinian to Pippin, and a brief final chapter on documentary sources.

A review of these sources in a single treatise is well worth having, and (allowing for certain tendencies to be mentioned later) the work is very satisfactory. It is not particularly original; the exposition and criticism is not much in advance, for example, of that in Hodgkin's short treatises on authorities at the heads of his chapters. The extracts from the writers are some of them rather long, but for the most part they illustrate very well the character of the work under discussion. Not a few of them are taken, as the author indicates, from English works such as Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, or Hodgkin. The author rather disarms the critic in advance by insisting on the introductory nature of the work, which grew out of a scheme to present a narrative of the migrations "culled from the sources" and "done into English". This work proving to be a larger task than was anticipated, the author decided to offer the work done in preparation for this as an introductory study. Whether such a summary deserves a place in a series of *Studies* may be questioned, but it would be ungracious not to accept it as useful and welcome.

It is fair criticism, however, to consider the tone and the tendencies of the author. The work smacks somewhat of the seminar, in which we get our first taste of historical criticism and try it out on the most venerable theories and authorities. One has a feeling (not easy to justify) that the criticism is rather easy and off-hand, and frequently suggests that there is only one side to the question under discussion. For instance, the fact that the references in Caesar and Tacitus have been overworked by the earlier "Germanists" is admitted; to say that "we have been painfully victimized by many German critics" is true, or suggests a truth; but it is not new. Moreover it is overstated; no allowance is made for the fact (too well established, one would think, to be ignored) that the Germanic tribal laws do reveal the existence from of old among the Germans of features which corroborate the very sketchy outline of Tacitus. But the author's treatment of the documentary sources is purely perfunctory.

So also the author destroys again the theory that the Western Roman Empire fell in 476: "The year 476, which was marked by a little revolution in Italian politics that has been most preposterously exaggerated into the fall of the western empire—as if there were a western empire to fall—and which, judged by the average entries in the various chronicles, is neither more nor less important than any other year". Certainly no one would now speak of that event as the "fall of the western empire", but the event was of critical importance, which is a quality very often not recognized by contemporary chroniclers.

Again, no one would take Jordanes very seriously as an authority; but it is a little "casual" to call him "a modest liar". And if he was a liar for saying that he digested the work of Cassiodorus in three days, how can the character of his narrative serve as "*prima facie* evidence in support of his contention that he had studied his chief source but three days"?

These objections may seem trifling; the reviewer makes them only to justify an impression he was not able to escape: an impression of a criticism of sources and writers which is easy and off-hand, and often not quite fair.

E. H. M.

The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century. The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1911, by REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., LL.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. xi, 195.)

THERE is a hint in Mr. Poole's preface of an apology for the form of his book, lectures printed as delivered. Surely none was called for. Repetition, clearness, and even to some extent the absence of illustrative material, are not more welcome in a popular work than in one of scholarship, which this certainly is. It is to be hoped that writers in English, in spite of some tendencies seemingly in that direction, are not going to acquire the feeling that scholars must write for scholars only, as writers in German are losing it. Germany has suffered enough from that false standard to be a warning to us against it. While the lectures are printed substantially as delivered, the foot-notes supply many details and a full apparatus.

The book is not a treatise on the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, like Liebermann's *Einleitung*, but is rather an account of the Exchequer system in practical operation. It deals first with the sources of our knowledge, considering the Pipe Rolls, and the Black and Red Books of the Exchequer, in addition to the *Dialogus*; then the older treasury system down to the introduction of the Exchequer; the method of the Exchequer and the source from which it was derived; and the two parts or divisions of the Exchequer, the lower, or treasury of receipt, and the upper, or Exchequer of audit, the Exchequer proper. Lecture VI. treats of the accounting of the sheriff; lecture VII. of the Exchequer records, the great roll of the year, and lecture VIII. of the Exchequer and the king's court.

The discussion of the introduction of the Exchequer system of reckoning and of the source from which it was derived is the portion of the book which has the greatest general interest and importance. The establishment of the Exchequer as something new was "the introduction of a precise system of calculation worked out by counters on a chequered table and recorded on rolls" (p. 40), or in other words "the system of the Exchequer is a system of reckoning based upon the abacus" (p. 56). If this is true, the introduction of the Exchequer could not have been a

gradual process but "must have been a definite act which operated at a definite date" (p. 41, note). This date Mr. Poole thinks to have been somewhere about the middle of the reign of Henry I., and not later than 1118, and that the introduction took place first in England and not in Normandy. It is not possible here to summarize the argument by which these conclusions are reached, or the history of the introduction of the use of the abacus, which occupy a large part of lecture III., but it may be said that it is an interesting combination of fragments of evidence and that it is entirely convincing. We may now regard these questions, which have been so long debated, as definitely settled. In matters of minor detail, the careful accuracy for which the author is distinguished enables him to make a number of corrections in the work of his predecessors, in the publications of the Pipe Roll Society, in the Rolls edition of the Red Book, and in the Oxford edition of the *Dialogus* in text as well as in the editorial work.

It is in the last lecture only that Mr. Poole considers the Exchequer in the other function besides financial in which it became constitutionally of permanent importance, the judicial. In a study of the twelfth-century Exchequer, this is probably the right proportion, for it is only with the thirteenth, and perhaps the later thirteenth, that we begin to have definite information about a clearly defined Exchequer court. Mr. Poole evidently felt obliged, as others have, to decide, if possible, whether the twelfth century regarded the Exchequer in its capacity as a court as having any specific and exact judicial sphere. It is of value to have the result reached by him, which is virtually that it did not. This is undoubtedly a correct conclusion. The men of that time did not reason about their institutions, or make constitutional distinctions and classifications. These things were for a long time still beyond them. The Exchequer was the small Curia Regis, acting in a special capacity to be sure, but not thereby made into a new institution. Whatever it could do anywhere, it could do *ad scaccarium*. This phrase in accounts of judicial proceedings, Mr. Poole concludes, means place, and this is the only meaning we can with certainty attach to it, in the opinion of the reviewer, until the process of differentiation has far advanced in the thirteenth century.

It must have been by a slip of memory that Mr. Poole says that the Exchequer court did not acquire jurisdiction in equity until Tudor times (p. 184, see Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, I. 106-107). It would of course be difficult to show by specific references that it possessed such a jurisdiction in the twelfth century because of the failure of the records of that century to note clearly almost all distinctions of function. The same thing may very likely be true for the thirteenth century, or nearly all of it, but it would be an extraordinary fact, very difficult to account for if, as small Curia Regis, small council, the Exchequer did not always possess equity powers. It is to be hoped that Professor James Baldwin's forthcoming book on the King's Council will throw some light on this point.

G. B. ADAMS.

The English People Overseas. By A. WYATT TILBY. In four volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. x, 302; viii, 286; vii, 441; viii, 452.)

HERE is only half of what is apparently intended for an eight-volume history of the British Empire. Ultimately, therefore, the present lack of indexes and maps may be remedied by the reputable firm which has undertaken the publication of these books in this country. In view of the necessities and longings both of students and more casual readers the whole enterprise on such a scale arouses optimistic interest. Certainly here are problems of research, condensation, and style which would task a modern Gibbon. With respectful appreciation of at least some of the difficulties which inevitably confronted the author and with wrath stirred by some of the revelations here involved, the writer is obliged to continue this review.

A catholic style and range are suggested in the notice that with the end of the Victorian Age, by October 11, 1899, when the South African War began, Tennyson "had crossed the bar" and "Swinburne's songs had all been sung" (IV. 451-452). In the course of like imperial and poetic comment the author discovers his teleological conviction (III. vi) that each generation "sailing quickly or slowly, with resignation or with sorrow, on that solitary voyage over mist-bound and shadow-stricken seas", has left behind a chore for the student of history. Fortunately the student has a strong stomach. At all events we are henceforth and without regret concerned with the demonstration of the author's melancholy conviction and the possibly moist accomplishment of his task.

By a cleverly scheduled itinerary the author in his imperial boots tiptoes from island to island in his chapter on the Ocean Highway of Britain (vol. II.). His two concluding chapters (vol. IV.) on Victorian Britain: 1832-1899, though containing abundant reference to "anti-imperial politicians" and the "little Englanders" who "hated the modern Empire of Britain", fail curiously to supply an adequate appreciation of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. But such notice may lurk in volumes reserved to the Edwardian Age. Otherwise the plan is clear. Volume I. (*The American Colonies, 1583-1763*) is here revised from an edition of 1908 into which "one or two errors" had "crept" (p. viii). Volume II. (*British India, 1600-1828*) is a second and augmented version; volume III. (*British North America, 1763-1867*) is virgin and also volume IV. (*Britain in the Tropics, 1527-1910*), which includes treatment of the West Indies, Northern and Central Africa, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malaya, the Far East, etc. By elimination we may gauge the scope of the four remaining volumes which are not at present under consideration.

Secondly, comes the author's frank fear lest "to specify the exact ingredients and composition of every dish upon the menu" may "also provoke indigestion" (I. viii). This is not impossible, though the writer confesses to a domestic interest in recipes. But Mr. Tilby has been per-

suaded to make occasional foot-notes and at the beginning of a number of chapters are automatic bibliographies. They compel attention. To examine a few of them may help us to see what chance the author has given himself to tell his eight-volume story truthfully. Thus, for the First Puritan Colonies: 1620-1658, are noted (I. 65, note) Doyle and Bancroft. "Both mention many original writers" concerning whom the material on the Winthrops cited in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is apparently for the use of further investigators. But "Justin Winsor is also useful". Again we have a chapter on the English East India Company: 1600-1700 (vol. II., bk. vi.). Unfortunately the English East India Company did not receive a royal charter till 1698 and its controversy to 1708 with the London East India Company, founded in 1599-1600, stands even in ordinary general histories as an affair of note. We, therefore, shall not be surprised to learn (II. 21, note) that "there is no history of the East India Company which can be regarded as authoritative; the official series of Indian records and Indian texts now being published promise to be of great value; but every other writer has been superseded by the monumental works of Sir W. Hunter". The preface to this revised second volume is dated in 1910 from Wimbledon, not nine miles from the hospitable archives, whence during the last fifteen years and more, volume after volume of priceless records for the period and subject to which the author refers have issued under the patient editorial direction of Mr. William Foster and his collaborators. We recall, nevertheless, in the year 1910 that these Indian records "promise to be of value". Indeed they do. At least the introductions to these volumes might have been "of value" to our author. To be sure he speaks of pamphlets in that inconvenient treasure-store of material—the Guildhall Library—and says they are "of interest". They are. The bibliographies on Canadian and West Indian subjects indicate a wider range. However, when the scale and scope of this work are considered, its pretensions and the general result compel the doubt whether the author as historian of the British Empire can justly require further notice at this time and in these pages.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e Siècle (1494-1610). Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. Tome III., *Les Guerres de Religion (1559-1589)*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xiii, 327.)

THREE years have elapsed between M. Hauser's second and third volumes, but every one will quickly agree with him that the work could hardly have been done in less time. In certain particulars the task has been easier than in the earlier volumes, for the field has been more worked. The labor of "discovery" has been less. On the other hand, the polemical literature of the period is so great, like the *Mémoires de*

Condé, the *Mémoires de la Ligue*, etc., and so little critical study has been made of it—the very texts differ—that the problem of selection has been difficult.

Broadly speaking, this survey falls into two parts. The first part deals with memoirs, biographies, general histories, and the foreign sources. Here the classification, save of documents, is confessional—Catholic and Protestant, with the exception of local and provincial sources, where this method proved impracticable and a geographical classification is substituted instead. In the second part (sections 2–6) we find a departure from the method of classification which has hitherto prevailed, for the classification is by important subjects under each reign.

It is interesting to observe the historiographical revolution which takes place in France after 1559. There are no more chronicles. Instead we have *mémoires-journaux*. Every town has its local diarist, often several. Every shade of politics and faith is represented, Catholics, Huguenots, royalists, leaguers, politiques, Navarrists. The personal element is strong in all these writings. The personality of the author is not hid behind the anonymity of a "bourgeois de Paris" as in preceding reigns, but is known. The change in the "grand" historians is no less. The "gentleman humanist" disappears with the decline of culture during the civil wars and the retreat of the Renaissance. Another new class of writers comes in with the legists, like Bodin and Hotman, whose methods, unlike those of their predecessors, are historical in their nature. M. Hauser makes the interesting point that Catholic historiography is distinctly inferior to Protestant, at least before 1589. This inferiority has had important consequences, for modern historians have generally written "en un sens réformé ou semi-réformé", or, owing to the prestige of De Thou, from a "politique" point of view.

France of the Huguenot wars is rich in documentary sources, but there is a paucity of purely administrative documents. There is great need of catalogues of the acts of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. Apropos of the diplomatic sources the author makes a statement that at first startles. Since Ranke, he observes, "Il y a . . . chez certains historiens, une sorte de superstition du document diplomatique" (p. 24). But one recovers his equanimity a little farther on (p. 27) when it is explained that what is wanted is a critical study of the sources of the wars of religion similar to Ranke's searching analysis of the historians of the wars in Italy in his *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber*. M. Courteault has made a study of Monluc. But Aubigné, La Popelière, De Thou, and many others still await critical examination.

M. Hauser has the ability to make his subject interesting as well as scientific. His observations all along the line are suggestive. On the famous hypothesis raised by Lord Acton as to whether there was intentional destruction of state papers which dealt with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew he does not pronounce. But the reader may compare the cautious statement on pages 236–237 with item 1684, where it is said

that the archives of the Frari in Venice have a lacuna between February 24, 1572, and April 6, 1573.

One naturally expects information of an economic nature from M. Hauser and two items of this kind are noteworthy—no. 1589, which is valuable for the history of French commerce in the Baltic, and no. 2465 which relates to a commercial treaty in 1587 between the czar and the Parisian merchants. It is singular, however, that there is no mention of the remarkably valuable economic material in Claude Haton (no. 1430).

The thoroughness of the work done in this volume is beyond praise. Nothing of importance either in sources or literature has been omitted, so far as I have observed.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Le Cœur d'une Reine: Anne d'Autriche, Louis XIII. et Mazarin.
Par PAUL ROBIQUET. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1912. Pp. xiv, 307.)

THE apprehensions aroused in the reader's mind by the title of this book are confirmed by the preface, in which the author disclaims any responsibility for the fact that "History is often the most extraordinary of romances". After that one is prepared.

M. Robiquet's fundamental idea is that the conduct of Anne of Austria during her troubled regency can be explained only by assuming in her a violent and invincible passion for Mazarin. The thesis is not new, and hardly stands in need of further proof. But, at any rate, here for the first time we have a monograph devoted to a detailed investigation of the *liaison* between the queen and the cardinal.

The first of the author's four chapters deals with the conjugal unhappiness of Louis XIII. and Anne, the bearing of which upon the main theme of the book would seem to be summed up in the dictum, "Tout savoir, c'est tout pardonner". The following chapter contains the real kernel of the book—a close study of the relations of Anne with Mazarin, chiefly on the basis of the correspondence between the two during the cardinal's exile in 1651. The third chapter is given up to the affair of Marie Mancini, which occupies nearly half of the book, although its direct bearing upon the *liaison* between the queen and Mazarin is not very obvious. Finally one is given an account of the deaths of the cardinal and Anne, with no lack of detail.

No one will dispute M. Robiquet's industry. While not professing an exaggerated cult for *documents inédits*, he has ransacked the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Mazarine, etc., in the effort to collect every scrap of existing material. The harvest was most abundant for the year 1659; hence the amount of space given to the episode of Marie Mancini. Here, agreeing with Chéruel and differing from Chantelauze, the author holds that Mazarin from the start opposed the project of a marriage between the young king and his niece, from enlightened calculations as to his own interest. In general, however, M.

Robiquet does not pretend to establish new conclusions on the larger questions, but confines himself to correcting or supplementing his predecessors on details.

What is objectionable in this book, what has aroused criticism in France, is the author's over-indulgence in anecdotes and details more salacious than important. And, even granting that it is the historian's duty to tell everything, there was no need to rehearse discredited old scandals, such as the apocryphal episode at Amiens (p. 29), or the tale about Richelieu's relations with Anne (pp. 26-27)—on the authority of two such reputable witnesses as Retz and "cette bonne langue de Tallemant"! There was no need to drag in the wretched adventure of Mme. de Beauvais no less than four times (pp. 73, 86, 122, 134), or to repeat the abominable story from the diary of La Porte (pp. 70-71), which was refuted as long ago as the time of Voltaire. Furthermore, the author's taste for "romance" sometimes leads him into egregious blunders. For example, on page 109 he quotes from Mazarin's letter to the queen of August 8, 1651 (the correct date of which, by the way, is August 15), the following sentence: "Si, pour l'avantage du père de 21 [21 is the king], il est nécessaire de sacrifier H [H = Mazarin], il le faudrait faire. . . ." The phrase "le père de 21" is certainly not clear at first sight, but our author hastens to comment: "Ce père du Roi ne serait-il pas Mazarin lui-même, et ne veut-il pas dire ici que l'intérêt du Ministre doit fléchir devant l'intérêt de son fils, qui est le Roi?" This seems sheer nonsense. Some study of the rest of this correspondence and especially of Mazarin's letter to Anne of July 6, 1651 (Ravenel, p. 137), would show that "le père de 21" is only a cryptic designation for the queen, who is commonly referred to throughout by such masculine pseudonyms as "Monsieur Zabaot", "Monsieur Serafin", "l'Espagnol", "le père de la Barque" (la Barque = the king), etc. Mazarin the father of Louis XIV. on such evidence!

M. Robiquet is an historian whose solid contributions to learning, notably his *Histoire Municipale de Paris*, entitle him to general respect; but when he lapses into his lighter vein, the results are a bit distressing.

R. H. LORD.

Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Von JOHANNES DIERAUER. Vierter Band. Bis 1798. [Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, vol. XXVI.] (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1912. Pp. xvii, 551.)

THE fourth volume of Dierauer's comprehensive history of the Swiss Confederacy has for its subject the period from the middle of the seventeenth to the close of the eighteenth century. The author is not of the type of the venerated poet-historian Tschudi or the ardent Johannes von Müller, who mingled truth and fiction in the attempt to picture an heroic past to serve as a "spur" unto succeeding generations. Dierauer belongs

to the modern school, as his great forerunner and contemporary Karl Dändliker; the pursuit of truth outweighs the ideal of patriotism. Dierauer did not attempt a popular history; his careful and cautious statements are the result of a maximum of investigation; the general reader is not fascinated by the sober style of this accurate chronicler.

A nation founded upon democratic principles is frequently expected to furnish in its history the realization of an ideal of human liberty. America was thus for many generations viewed from abroad through the glass of romanticism, and woe to the nation if political independence and self-government were found an insufficient guarantee for perfection, or for the unattained union of the varied but essential forms of human liberty, political, religious, social, and intellectual. If an American reader should hold a similarly romantic view of the Swiss democracy, his illusion would be dispelled by the very first chapter of Dierauer's volume. It treats of the genesis of the aristocracy in the Swiss Confederacy.

The democratic spirit of the original Swiss League, dating back to the close of the thirteenth century, began to break down in the Swiss Confederacy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The original forest cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, had given the tiller of the soil access to the popular governing bodies and the right to hold office; the cantons, when controlled by cities, had given the countryman the right to settle in the city for a nominal sum and to avail himself of all political privileges. Gradually as wealth accumulated in the cities, the price of citizenship became higher, soon prohibitive, naturalization for those entering from the rural districts became possible only after twenty years of residence, then only after a generation, finally the privilege was abolished altogether. The patrician class of the cities encroached more and more upon the ancient rights of the country population, reduced them to ever increasing dependence and finally to a state of serfdom. Peasant wars arose in consequence and after a desperate struggle resulted, as elsewhere in Europe, in the victory of the patrician classes. The disenfranchisement and bondage of the Swiss peasants, once so proud and jealous of their liberties, lasted until the period of the French Revolution. When the social war was over, religious intolerance had a free hand, engaging all classes alike in terrible conflicts. Zürich and Bern, unfortunately not united, were soon at war with the Catholic cantons Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. Because of a lack of co-operation the forces of the reformers were quite generally worsted in the earlier period, until after a struggle of sixty years the principle for which they fought, equality for the two denominations where they existed together, was established in 1718.

The particularism of the individual cantons was the besetting sin that prevented the Confederacy from assuming a firm position of independence between the traditional foe, the House of Hapsburg on the east and south, and the ambitious and aggressive neighbor, France, at the

west. The danger was ever present of being ground up between the warring powers at either hand. The policy of neutrality was maintained with great difficulty and at humiliating cost. France and Austria both succeeded by treaties, bribes, and threats in extracting tens of thousands of mercenary soldiers from the cantons as individuals, while the Confederacy as a whole was avowing its neutrality. Dierauer estimates that 60,000 Swiss soldiers were serving in the contending European armies in 1748. At no time was the weakness of the Confederacy more apparent than in the period of Louis XIV. (1661-1715), whose intrigues fostered the petty dissensions among the cantons and whose bribes and personal honors showered upon influential Swiss citizens kept the ruling parties subservient to his will. Had the tens of thousands of Swiss troops that were sold to Louis XIV., and as many others that served the allied enemies of France, been united for the defense of the Swiss borders, then the Confederacy need not have feared Austrian aggressions, or trembled when the French king invaded the Palatinate, annexed Strassburg, or threatened Geneva because the Huguenots were granted a place of refuge in Swiss territory. The gold that flowed into Swiss coffers in payment for mercenaries was a poor requital for the loss of national prestige and the draining of the best blood of the people.

An inspiring chapter, contrasting markedly with the unsparing account of internal dissensions and political stagnation, is the description of the intellectual awakening in Switzerland during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. In Bern there resided Albrecht von Haller (before and after his professorship in the University of Göttingen), the greatest anatomist of his day, and author of the poem *Die Alpen*, which gave expression before Rousseau to the principle of the return of man to nature; in Zürich Bodmer and Breitinger became the centre of a reform movement in German literature, and for some years entertained successively as their guests the German poets Klopstock and Wieland. In Basel lived the philanthropist Isaac Iselin, forerunner of Pestalozzi, and Johannes von Müller, whose eloquent history inspired national pride and patriotism. In Geneva there lived a number of savants and men of letters, among them the explorer of the Alpine highlands Benedict de Saussure, and greater than all others Jean Jacques Rousseau, the power of whose pen stirred all Europe. The same epoch witnessed the establishment of patriotic societies, *e. g.*, the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, which contributed to the rise of a sentiment for closer union and national dignity, but the historian regrets that their oratorical efforts were not transmuted into deeds.

The last chapters are devoted to the influence of the French Revolution and Napoleon upon Switzerland. April 12, 1798, was the decisive day which brought the end of the Swiss Confederacy, that had had its beginnings half a thousand years before. The Confederacy was laid low, says Dierauer, by the iron hand of a foreign conqueror, who had no understanding for its historical institutions, and was concerned only with

forcing upon it a form of government best calculated to serve his selfish interests. But the fault lay mainly, he continues, in the old Confederacy itself, the internal conditions of which had become impossible, yet the ruling parties, in this blind feeling of security, neglected all attempts at reform, and refused to adjust themselves to the new social order. The author nevertheless sees in the fall of the old Confederacy the foundation for the political development of modern Switzerland.

One serious omission must be noted in the comprehensive work of Dierauer. There is no mention whatever of the emigration of Swiss people from their native country, yet we know that during the period which he treats tens of thousands of Swiss left their native land to seek homes in distant America. Mingled with the Palatines they settled in Pennsylvania, trekked to Maryland and Virginia, or established independent settlements, as Newbern (1710) and Puryburg (1732), in the Carolinas. All the conditions skillfully portrayed by the historian made for a large emigration: destructive wars, tyranny of rulers, religious intolerance, economic bankruptcy of the farming class. In amount and certainly in lasting effect those that left Switzerland to build permanent homes in the American colonies contributed far more in the world's history than the hosts of mercenary troops who shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe, destroying one another in the service of clashing interests. About one-third of them only returned to their homes to share the glory of success or to utilize the compensation for which they so readily took up arms. The faithful and heroic stand of the Swiss guard during the attack on the Tuileries (called by Dierauer the last appearance of the Swiss mercenary soldier in history) is spectacular, yet the upholding of crumbling dynasties is a pursuit that cannot be measured as high as the nation-building of the faithfully drudging fearless Swiss pioneers in America. This principle Dierauer would probably concede, and he is but following the custom of European historians who consign to oblivion the record of the surplus population that has drifted away to foreign shores. They are regarded as a loss to be forgotten. Lost they were politically to the fatherland, but as surely were they a gain to humanity, a contribution of which the fatherland might well be proud.

A. B. FAUST.

La Diplomatie de la Gironde: Jacques-Pierre Brissot. By H.-A. GOETZ-BERNSTEIN, Docteur ès Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. xx, 450.)

THE object of M. Goetz-Bernstein is not to rewrite the history of the Girondins but merely to set forth the ideas of Brissot and the other Girondin leaders upon foreign affairs and to trace their influence upon the diplomacy of the Revolution. While his work lies in the same field as that of M. Sorel, it is by no means a duplication. What M. Sorel, in his task of far larger scope, has necessarily treated with brevity M.

Goetz-Bernstein considers in detail. Like his predecessors in similar studies he bases his work on material found in foreign as well as in French archives, but lays more stress on the former, and in particular he utilizes for the first time in this connection the correspondence of Goltz, the Prussian minister at Paris during the years 1789 to 1792.

The same difficulty confronts M. Goetz-Bernstein which every writer on the subject has had to face, namely: the difficulty which comes from the fact that the foreign policy of the Girondin ministry was never directed immediately by the Girondins in person; but, on account of the exclusion of the deputies of the Legislative Assembly from executive office, had to be exercised indirectly and often through secret means. Such indirect influence is always hard to estimate. This difficulty M. Goetz-Bernstein seems to appreciate more fully than have earlier students of the Girondins and so is on his guard against drawing inferences without a solid basis of fact.

As for his conclusions, he agrees with earlier writers in making the Girondins in general, and Brissot in particular, largely responsible for the foreign war. What is new in his treatment is the emphasis which he puts on the propagandist character of that war. The propagandist idea is familiar in religious wars, but its application to the realm of politics is, he declares, the distinguishing characteristic of the diplomacy of the French Revolution. The main object of his work is in fact to trace the genesis and development of this method as worked out by the Girondins. And in conclusion he pays a glowing tribute to the ideals which they were trying to propagate: "Leur œuvre sombra dans le néant, mais leurs nobles aspirations restèrent immortelles. Ils voulaient conquérir l'univers, moins par la force des armes que par la puissance d'un idéal d'émancipation. Ils répandirent dans le monde entier leurs principes, qui ne tarderont pas à germer et qui fourniront les bases sur lesquelles s'édifiera l'État moderne. La Gironde avait fait don de ses idées à l'Europe; celle-ci, d'abord réservée et prudente, les adopta par la suite avec empressement, et l'on vit se produire le miracle lent mais certain de son rajeunissement: l'absolutisme mourait, la féodalité disparaissait, et la loi, égale pour tous, les remplaçait. Si jamais l'on songe à perpétuer la mémoire des Girondins, c'est à Berlin, à Vienne, à Rome et même à Saint Pétersbourg et à Constantinople qu'il faudra leur élever des statues, car leur plus beau titre de gloire est d'avoir été des pionniers de la civilisation."

Considering that in the course of his book M. Goetz-Bernstein lays constant stress upon the selfish and unworthy aspects of the chief Girondin leader such a paean of praise, while it impresses the reader with M. Goetz-Bernstein's ability to see the good as well as the ill in the Girondins, also leaves the reader with an idea of the author's conclusions which is not exactly clear-cut. This lack of consistency is the chief fault of the book.

ELOISE ELLERY.

Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle. By ÉLIE HALÉVY, Professeur à l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques. Tome I. *L'Angleterre en 1815.* (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. viii, 620.)

THIS volume is the first of four projected by M. Halévy as a history of the English people in the nineteenth century. The undertaking is monumental. It deserves notice because M. Halévy is one of the first writers to essay a definitive synthesis of the monograph material for the period. But, to judge from this first installment, his interpretation will disregard traditional views and offer suggestions that are quite new. Already, in this introductory volume, dealing with English society at the close of the Napoleonic struggle, he advances a theory the originality of which is apparent. He is trying to determine why England, in contrast to the Continental states of Europe, has enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century a public opinion that invariably maintains itself within conservative and non-revolutionary limits. The question draws from M. Halévy an exhaustive review of the institutional side of English life—this being the substance of the first volume.

The commonplace view that English political institutions make for stability he rejects entirely: in the sphere of economics he sees in distribution, based upon contract, only a provocation to anarchy; whilst towards the Established Church he betrays the prejudice of the philosophical radicals. How then, if not through these, is the non-revolutionary character of English society in the nineteenth century to be explained? M. Halévy answers: by religious nonconformity—nonconformity evincing itself subjectively in the mental attitude induced by evangelicalism, and objectively in the institution of Dissent, or the freedom of religious association.

The view is novel; in fact, almost startling. Admit it, and we shall be obliged to rewrite one of the more important chapters of English history. Probably many critics will disregard the theory entirely, especially those for whom the canon of the nineteenth century is already determined. Others may dispute the theory, and perhaps reject it on the reasoning that M. Halévy offers; for, with every wish to do justice to the originality that M. Halévy displays, it is impossible to absolve him altogether from the charge of logical incompleteness. The theory would seem to have come from a brilliant stroke of divination; but it has not been subjected to the usual tests of verification: M. Halévy leaves his readers with the impression that he is attributing much too definite a causal relation to phenomena for which the most that can be alleged at present is an accidental association. This is not to say that M. Halévy has placed Dissent and its social influence in a wrong light. He has thrown out a suggestion which fair-minded critics must give due consideration; but a suggestion which requires wider discussion and a somewhat different approach.

There is noticeable throughout this volume a tendency to lack of pre-

cision, frequently verging upon incorrectness; also a decided inclination to reason *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The tone taken toward the family of George III. is not happy: though this is perhaps pardonable, as there are few topics that require such discriminating treatment. Equally unfortunate is the tone toward the Established Church, both in sarcasm and in an implication of sleepy officialism. In the chapters on Dissent there is much to which exception might be taken, much also that might be added by way of supplement. Thus, a study of the sectional distribution of Dissent, based upon the Parliamentary returns of Dissenters' places of worship—to which M. Halévy does not allude—would have modified one or two conclusions. Nevertheless, this introductory volume has brought into the discussion of recent English history a new question, and one which it is much to the credit of M. Halévy to have proposed.

C. E. FRYER.

Jules Favre, 1809-1880. Essai de Biographie Historique et Morale d'après des Documents inédits. By MAURICE RECLUS, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. ix, 572.)

Ernest Picard, 1821-1877. Essai de Contribution à l'Histoire du Parti Républicain d'après des Documents inédits. By MAURICE RECLUS, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. viii, 362.)

THE author of these biographies is a young scholar, who, from family tradition and personal sympathy, is deeply interested in the history of the republican party in France during the nineteenth century. The form which his contribution to that history has taken is due to his belief that while the origin and evolution of its doctrines, its organization and influence, its struggles and conquests, have been investigated in numerous excellent studies, its personnel has been neglected. Satisfactory lives of its leading journalists, orators, and statesmen are almost entirely lacking. That deficiency he has sought to supply for two of its most important and representative leaders.

M. Reclus recognizes that complete impartiality in regard to Favre and Picard is scarcely possible even for the younger generation of Frenchmen. The events in which they were prominent figures and the parts which they played still give rise very frequently to bitter polemics. From such influences he has striven to emancipate himself as far as possible by seeking to carry on his work in a scientific spirit and by taking great pains to avoid the attitude of either invective or apology. Any bias which his work may exhibit is due, he thinks, to sympathy for the cause which Favre and Picard championed rather than to partiality for the men themselves. He is especially solicitous that his life of Favre shall not be set down as a work of *réhabilitation*.

Both books are in general sound, interesting, and valuable studies,

fully warranting the claims which their author makes for them. It is probably well, however, that the disclaimer of a purpose to effect a rehabilitation is made, for after the Terrible Year both Favre and Picard lost nearly all of the great popularity which they had enjoyed while fighting in the law-courts and at the tribune of the Chamber for liberty and republicanism against the despotism of the Second Empire. Misunderstanding in regard to Favre is so extensive and deeply rooted that M. Reclus very justly calls the prevailing misconception of him "la légende de Favre". The injustice and the mistaken ideas involved in that misconception he is at great pains to point out and correct, yet without glossing over or unduly extenuating the mistakes which Favre undoubtedly committed.

For both books the author has been able to make use of a large amount of hitherto unused materials, including some oral testimony. Among these materials the most important are the papers left by Favre and Picard. There are also a good many documents, chiefly letters, from the papers of their intimate associates. Many of these documents are printed *in extenso* in the text or in the foot-notes. This has been done to such a degree and so frequently for matters of comparatively small interest that there is perhaps ground for the criticism, especially in the volume upon Favre, that the published evidence has been sometimes neglected in order to make a display of the unpublished.

Admirable judgment has been shown in the selection of the points to be emphasized and in the allotment of space to the various topics. M. Reclus does not allow his readers to forget that Favre and Picard passed the most brilliant years of their careers as opponents of the Second Empire and owed their rise into positions of great power and influence to their talents as speakers. Favre, he thinks, was easily the greatest French orator of his generation. Yet, as both men, and especially Favre, are best recalled as members of the Government of National Defense and of Thiers's first ministry and as that is the period of their lives about which controversy is keenest, the greatest degree of attention is given to it. In both books it occupies about one-third of the space. For Favre special attention has been given to his famous circular of September 6 ("not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses"), the Ferrières interview, his decision not to leave Paris even for the London Conference, the negotiations at Versailles and Frankfort, and the Commune. M. Reclus presents a strong case for the argument that Favre's diplomacy was not so infatuated and weak as it is usually represented to have been, that the feature most criticized subsequently was at the time universally applauded, and that the complete failure of his policy was due to lack of French military success to a degree which could not have been anticipated, and to the German predetermination to insist upon the cession of Alsace and Lorraine. M. Reclus thinks his capital blunder was his failure to attend the London Conference. The wise policies which Picard unsuccessfully urged upon his colleagues of

the Government of National Defense are properly emphasized, but his much-criticized course as Thiers's Minister of the Interior is not adequately discussed. His resignation is ascribed to unwillingness to sanction the severe measures used for the punishment of the Communards, but no proof for the assertion is offered.

Although not all of the conclusions which the author reaches can be accepted, his method of arriving at them is in general not open to serious exception. One qualification, however, must be made. He at several points exhibits a surprising readiness to accept rather dubious oral testimony and to follow without sufficient reason the accounts to be found in the unpublished documents which he has himself brought to light. The weakest feature of both books is their bibliographies. These are confined to names, titles, and editions. More ample information and some critical appraisements would have been of great value, especially for his manuscript materials.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale. Par A. C. EUGÈNE CAILLOT.
(Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1910. Pp. 606.)

M. CAILLOT proposes Eastern Polynesia as the subject of his theme, but he centres attention on the islands in the possession of France.

Tahiti, the largest of the Society group, with its capital Papeite, forms the commercial and strategic centre and calls for the largest share of attention. The land is of volcanic origin—as is true of the whole group—its highest peak, Orohena, 7329 feet in altitude. Barrier-reefs surround the island and the soil is extremely fertile, producing all the fruits of the tropics. The same is true of all the Society Islands.

The people are physically a splendid race, tall, well-formed, vigorous, with a complexion varying from a *café au lait* to an oaken tan. The beauty of the women and the warmth of their passions are proverbial, an inspiring theme with the sons of Neptune. From the time of Tahiti's first discovery by Quiros, 1606, and its rediscovery by Wallis, 1767, until the early part of the nineteenth century the people continued to be insatiate cannibals, without being able to plead hunger or lack of food supply. Any attempt to estimate the moral character of the Tahitians will be furthered by a study of the society called *Areoi*, a semi-religious secret organization devoted to licentious pleasures and one which enjoined infanticide.

The most striking feature in the history of Tahiti, as of all these archipelagoes, has been—unfortunately—a bitter religious and political conflict resulting from the determined interjection of a Roman Catholic propaganda into this field already won by Protestantism, and the bloody strife attending French occupation.

Thirty missionaries of the London Missionary Society landed on the island of Tahiti, March 4, 1797, and were welcomed by the king and

people. After more than fifteen years of privation and hardship, the mission, in 1813, began to "reap the harvest of sixteen laborious seed-times" (Ellis). The conversion of King Pomare II, as well as of an influential chief, followed by the general destruction of idols throughout the group—beginning with that of the famous god Oro—were events that opened the gate to acceptance of the new religion.

With the great accession of influence and prestige that now came to the missionaries, also came the opportunity and temptation of political power and its abuse for emolument through speculation and trade. Caillot asserts that they not only gained prestige but that some among them accumulated ample fortunes—*de belles fortunes*—and that the most comfortable houses, especially in Tahiti, were those belonging to the missionaries (*hommes du Seigneur*). This is almost the duplicate of a charge made against the American missionaries to Hawaii. The question is, did they use their power honestly and for the good of the people? The fruits of Protestant missionary labor throughout Polynesia can be appealed to as vouchers in both instances.

The temptation for the Catholic Church to enter into the field in which the heavy pioneer work had been done by another, and that other an enemy, was too great to be resisted. That the manner of entrance, judged by Tahitian law, was illegal and that it was bound to be a cause of strife and disorder was clearly recognized and is acknowledged by M. Caillot.

The entrance was made, July, 1834, pioneered by members of the society of Picpus—"young, active, courageous, fanatical"—backed by the authority of Pope Gregory XVI., sustained by the military power of France. The avowed purpose was the conversion to Catholicism of all Polynesia.

The denial by the Tahitian government of permission to MM. Caret and Laval to reside in Tahiti was resisted and evaded with the aid of the Belgian-born American consul, M. Moerenhout, who before long found himself appointed French consul. Left to itself the Tahitian government, without the support of army or navy, was no match for the machinations of French diplomacy and the wiles of such treaty-makers as Dupetit-Thouars or the intrigues of M. Moerenhout. Under the manipulations of this man, the merest street brawl was magnified and made to do duty as an excuse for intervention.

One thing led to another, until, on August 30, 1838, a French protectorate over Tahiti was declared, Queen Pomare compelled to pay at short notice a round sum of money and to display and salute the French colors, the alternative being war.

Each advance move of the French was, of course, made in response to the earnest request of the agonized queen and her befooled, and heavily-bribed, chiefs. Bitter was the disillusion of these petitioners for the "protectorate", when it was found on trial what it meant—the curtailment of privilege, the denial of real function to their queen, the

lopping off of old rights here and there, the drying up of the tree of national freedom.

The one Englishman in Tahiti gifted with the foresight and energy, plus the resolution, needed to deal with the situation, seems to have been the Rev. George Pritchard. This capable, honest man was appointed British consul. The only charge that seems to be laid against him was that he had been a missionary, that he had won the confidence of the Tahitians, queen, chiefs, and common people, and that his wisdom and shrewdness blocked the plans of France. The French, indiscreetly, put themselves in the wrong and resorted to violence against him. Pritchard made his appeal to the court of Saint James on behalf of Tahiti, the Society Islands, Eastern Polynesia, the cause of civilization and of Christianity.

His demand for reparation from France for personal injuries and insults was approved and pushed; his larger appeal, in the interest of fair and honest dealing as between nation and nation, was overruled. Great Britain (Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen) had other ends in view. There was a land deal on in the Pacific. The flag of France left the New Hebrides and passed over to Eastern Polynesia, soon to wave, in token of possession, over Tahiti and the Society Islands, over the Gambiers, the Marquesas, the Paumotas.

One of the first questions that rises in the mind of the reader of a work purporting to be history touches the impartiality of the historian. Is it possible for a Frenchman and a Catholic to treat with historic fairness a contest involving the supposed dominancy of his religion and his flag? To ask the question is almost to answer it. This book has no maps, no index. M. Caillot, after briefly touching on the Asiatic origin of the people, leaves that subject to a future work.

N. B. EMERSON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674. By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD and LEE BIDGOOD. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1912. Pp. 275.)

THE tardiness of the English colonists to leave the Atlantic coast plain and press westward across the Appalachian barrier into the continental valleys of the interior has long been contrasted with the zeal for exploration of the French discoverers from the St. Lawrence. That several expeditions were sent out from the Virginia frontier into the hinterland has long been known, but the extent of the discovery has been in doubt. This dubious volume before us is intended to resolve. It proves that of the several English expeditions that set forth between the years 1650 and 1673, two at least reached westward-flowing waters, and established trade routes across the Alleghany Mountains.

The promoter of these explorations was Gen. Abraham Wood, commandant of a frontier post on the site of the present Petersburg, Virginia, and an enterprising Indian trader. To him without doubt belongs the honor of being the organizer of the westward movement during the seventeenth century, but do not the editors exaggerate the importance of this Virginia pioneer, when they compare his rôle to that of the great French governor-general, the Marquis de Frontenac?

Of the volume before us somewhat less than two-thirds is composed of the documents and records of these early Virginia expeditions. Upon examination, however, one notes that only one of these comprises previously unknown and unpublished material, found among the Shaftesbury Papers of the Public Record Office in London. This recounts the journeys of Needham and Arthur, sent out in 1673 under the patronage of Wood, and closes with the massacre of Needham by treacherous Indians. The remaining documents have long been in print, and very recent reprints of two—Bland's *New Brittain* and Talbot's *Discoveries of John Lederer*—have been issued.

The first hundred pages of the book comprise the authors' discussion of the succeeding documents, under the title *Discovery of the Ohio Waters*; to justify this claim, the reader finds that the expeditions in question penetrated no farther than to the upper waters of New River, a tributary of the Great Kanawha, and to some of the head streams of the Tennessee.

Meagre as the results of these English explorers appear, they themselves showed fortitude, hardihood, and a true zest for discovery; it is thus fitting that the records of their journeys should be gathered together and placed among our chronicles of western endeavor. If one takes up the book with eager expectation and lays it down with a feeling of disappointment, it is due rather to the paucity of accomplishment than to the lack of heroic effort.

In garnering this scattered material into one volume and giving a connected account thereof the editors have rendered a service of value. Especially apposite is the suggestion that the zeal for western exploration on the part of Sir William Berkeley and the Carolina proprietors may have been quickened by meeting in England the French explorer Grosseilliers, founder of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is, therefore, a strange slip of the pen that alludes (p. 24) to the wanderings of Grosseilliers and Radisson in Wisconsin in 1754; and states in the same note that "historians seem inclined to deny that Jean Nicolet [it should be Nicolet] visited the Wisconsin in 1734".

It would have been a gracious act on the part of the editors, both of whom have freely consulted and used the Draper Manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Library, had they seen fit to acknowledge the prior investigations of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, the erudite pioneer in western historical investigations. In an unpublished but widely-known essay, prepared some thirty years ago, Dr. Draper gathered together most of

the materials included in this volume, and traced in detail the same line of British exploration from Virginia.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America by CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN, Ph.D. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xxxiv, 509; xix, 621.)

No extended biography or even satisfactory sketch exists of William Shirley, one of the most popular colonial governors in English America. These two volumes present the first substantial contribution of materials for his life, as well as an unusual amount of source material for the history of the third and fourth intercolonial wars in America.

Shirley was born in England, in 1694, the son of a London merchant, but himself became a lawyer. He came to America, in 1731; was surveyor of the king's woods; king's advocate-general for New England, except Connecticut, in 1734; a boundary commissioner for Massachusetts & Rhode Island, and governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1756. After Braddock's defeat, in 1755, Shirley became commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. In 1759, he was made a lieutenant-general in the British army, and, from 1761 to 1769, was governor of the Bahamas. In 1770, he settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he died the next year. Dr. Lincoln gives a fair estimate of Shirley's temperament and abilities. He writes: "Shirley's abilities may have been disproportionate to his ambitions, but in many respects the Massachusetts governor was in advance of his time. He saw distinctly the real issue between Great Britain and France in America, and repeatedly presented the question to his superiors at London, urging adequate support for Colonial effort. He discovered in the common weal the true basis of Colonial loyalty and sought to promote that end." One of his best contributions was "the establishment of a sound currency system". He was a good military strategist. He put through the successful expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, and propounded a sane scheme for the capture of Canada, in 1746. He was "the most pronounced defender of the British and Colonial rights in America up to the time of Pitt and Wolfe". He was a pioneer in ideas for repressing the French in North America.

Shirley material is abundant. These volumes embrace only a selection, principally to illustrate his career as governor of Massachusetts and as military commander in America. Reference is made in notes to numerous letters printed in other collections. The same is true of a "large amount of material thus far unpublished". Many of the letters he wrote "to the governors or executive officials of other

colonies" are omitted purposely. There are letters to the Duke of Newcastle (58); to the Duke of Bedford (8); to the Earl of Holderness (2); to Sir Thomas Robinson (20); to Henry Fox (15); to the Lords of Trade (16); to the Lords of the Admiralty (1); to the General Court of Massachusetts (15); to William Pepperrell (25); to Benning Wentworth (30); to Sir William Johnson (13); a lesser number to Horatio Sharpe, Robert Hunter Morris, John Law, Gideon Wanton, William Greene, George Clinton, James DeLancey, Josiah Willard, and others, usually with replies from them; as well as Shirley's plan for a civil government of Nova Scotia, February 18, 1748. Altogether about 450 pieces are printed, of which 340 Shirley letters, etc., are in the body of the volumes, whilst fifty more are printed or alluded to in the notes. Long letters have sometimes been abridged, but rarely when not printed before. These materials are taken from originals in the Public Record Office and British Museum in London; the state archives of Massachusetts; the historical societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; the New York State Library (before the Capitol fire), but some of these are reprinted from the old and dubious texts in *New York Colonial Documents* and *Documentary History of New York*; from transcripts in the Library of Congress, and "from other widely separated sources".

Mention should have been made in the respective foot-notes that contemporary copies are in the Hardwicke Papers, volume 136, lettered "Political Miscellanies", in the New York Public Library, of the pieces printed in volume II., pages 240-241, 261-269, 289-303, 433-438, 442-445, 492-493, 501-514, 521-525, 528-531, 536-548, 551-559, 561-562, 563-566. An examination of this collection would have revealed the six-page text of an indispensable Shirley letter to the Earl of Loudoun, Boston, September 12, 1756, in regard to Shirley's defense of his conduct against the charges in Loudoun's "message" and letters.

The letter to Willard (I. 498-499), of which a facsimile is given (*ibid.*, opp. p. 410), has been misread. "Sir" belongs to the salutation and not to the postscript, and the postscript should read "I could not get a duplicate", instead of "I can get", etc. "Pepperell" should be "Pepperrell" (II. 97, notes). Superior letters are all brought down to the base line. Some contractions are extended, but not generally. The arrangement of the pieces is chronological; but it would have facilitated use if the year, month, and day had been printed in boldface type at the top of each page, either in the heading or the margin. The very incomplete index is the usual commercial misfit. The Morris map is reproduced on too reduced a scale to be of any use. It had, however, been reproduced in full size in 1896 with the *Journal of Captain William Pote*.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

General W. T. Sherman as College President. Collected and edited by WALTER L. FLEMING, Ph.D., Professor of History, Louisiana State University. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1912. Pp. 399.)

THIS liberal volume, made up of letters chiefly to and from General Sherman, newspaper articles, state documents, and school bulletins, is a valuable repository of information regarding the beginnings of the "Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy", which became in 1870 the Louisiana State University. Sherman was at the head of it from the time its buildings were completed in 1859 until the progress of secession forced him in January of 1861 to resign his presidency. Though the book, therefore, is in large measure a record of Sherman's life for a year and a half, its fresher contribution is to a knowledge of the institution of which he had charge, and of social and educational conditions in Louisiana immediately before the Civil War.

As the term "college president" is now understood, it defines quite imperfectly the position in which Sherman found himself. The requirements for admission to the seminary were of the simplest. "Any young men between fifteen and twenty-one, who can read and write, and who have some notion of arithmetic (addition, etc., as far as decimal fractions)"—the words are Sherman's—were eligible for entrance. Military drill and discipline were provided because the times appeared to demand and the boys sorely to need them. After some student troubles which Sherman handled with characteristic vigor, he wrote, in one of his letters: "One hundred young men in this building under a civil government would tear down the building and make study impossible." Col. (afterwards Gen.) Braxton Bragg, a good friend of Sherman's at this time, wrote to him: "The more you see of our society, especially our young men, the more you will be impressed with the importance of a change in our system of education if we expect the next generation to be anything more than a mere aggregation of loafers charged with the duty of squandering their fathers' legacies and disgracing their names." In a letter to Gen. G. Mason Graham, Sherman's closest adviser and supporter in Louisiana, Bragg deplored "the very loose system which prevails in our southern society, and which has reduced parents to a subordination to children". Altogether the situation was full of perplexities. The spirit that Sherman, Graham, and the others most intimately concerned with the seminary, brought to its conduct was worthy of all admiration. What its ripened fruits might have been, the interruption of war has forbidden us to know. Equally creditable, both to Sherman and to his Southern associates, was their bearing to each other as the war drew near. It speaks well indeed for him and for them that they could part in the winter of 1861 with so much of mutual regard.

All this, however, is a matter of previous record, in Sherman's own *Memoirs*, in the *Sherman Letters*, and in the *Home Letters of General Sherman*. In the preparation of this new volume it is somewhat difficult to understand why the editor, who acknowledges his quotations from the *Memoirs*, does not inform the reader that nearly all the letters to John Sherman and to Mrs. Sherman here used have already been printed in the *Sherman Letters* and the *Home Letters*. It may be questioned also why one "Roelofson" appears on some pages under his own name, and on others as "R——". The slips of transcription and proof-reading are few, and the editorial apparatus is, in general, well constructed and sufficient. If the book does not add materially to our understanding of Sherman, it throws a clear light upon local and sectional matters on which every new illumination is welcome.

M. A. DeWOLFE HOWE.

Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903: a Biography. By CARO LLOYD. With an Introduction by CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. xviii, 308; ix, 390.)

THERE is much of historical value in these two large volumes, because the subject of the work, Henry Demarest Lloyd, had a part in almost every great popular reform from the overthrow of Tammany Hall in the days of Boss Tweed in 1870 to the Chicago traction struggle of 1903, and because on the various social and industrial questions that came within his range of interests he expressed most vigorous and independent views, now brought together for the first time. Lloyd, as a reformer, was highly imaginative but practical, possessing admirable personal qualities, strong intellectual powers, and rather unusual literary ability; both as a newspaper man, and later as an independent student and investigator, he wrote voluminously. The present story of his life is made up mainly of extracts from his own letters, notes, editorials, magazine articles, and books, with a point of view that is sometimes narrow and prejudiced, always openly in favor of organized labor, but always stimulating and suggestive.

Three chapters stand out prominently, namely those on the Chicago anarchists, the anthracite coal strike during the Roosevelt administration, and the origin of the People's party of the early nineties, with all of which movements Lloyd was closely identified. To him the trial of the anarchists was unfair, the evidence for the conspiracy charges against them flimsy in the extreme, and the petition to the governor of the state in their behalf the only possible step for a patriotic citizen; in the same spirit the later pardon of the surviving anarchists by Governor Altgeld he strongly approved, as well as Altgeld's opposition to President Cleveland's interference in the Pullman strike of 1894. The attitude of Eugene V. Debs at this time he

also commended. While it must be admitted that in these trying times Lloyd himself behaved with admirable poise and sweetness of temper, using none of the insolent language of the violent agitator, it will also be seen that he subordinated the interests of law and order to the supposed interests of organized labor. He condemned the President, simply because he believed that the sending of the United States troops to Chicago was a blow to labor unions. Later, by way of contrast, he had only praise for the attitude of President Roosevelt in the equally difficult crisis of the anthracite coal strike of 1902, when that President summoned capital and labor to arbitration instead of bringing to bear the physical power of United States troops. The account of this arbitration is all the more valuable because Lloyd himself bore a prominent part in conducting the case of the miners. High ideals are shown to have actuated the leaders of the People's party in the early days of that organization, and then, in Lloyd's opinion, to have been abandoned in the fusion with the Democrats in 1896, when he and many others deserted the party and finally joined the Socialists. The ideas of the Socialist party to which Lloyd was thus finally driven after membership in various parties of protest, are expounded with much force.

Besides the above, there is found in the volumes material on the trust question, the Standard Oil Company in particular, on co-operation, on the initiative and referendum, and kindred topics. A chronological list of Lloyd's writings, together with a detailed index, is attached. The work of the editor, in general careful and discriminating, would be improved by the inclusion of more dates in the body of the text.

EMERSON D. FITE.

The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties: Studies in Constitutional History and Politics. By ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, Professor of History, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1912. Pp. vii, 299.)

PROFESSOR McLAUGHLIN has assembled in this volume five essays and addresses, which, although prepared on separate occasions, have a unity of their own because they deal with a few fundamental and closely related problems of American constitutionalism and party government. In two papers on the significance of parties and their place in a democracy, the author gives fresh treatment to such familiar topics as the growth of the party outside of the formal government, the necessity for permanent organization, the sources of party support, the nationalizing influence of parties on American politics, the effect of the popular election of senators on federalism, the justification for leaders' hunting issues, the executive as party premier, and the present need for constitutionalizing and democratizing political machinery. The essay on the social compact and constitutional construction gives the place of the idea in early American political theory, expounds it in the

form understood and applied in the Convention and by such leaders as Madison, Luther Martin, and Calhoun, and examines its relation to speculations on the nature of the Union. The final paper, on the written constitution in its historical aspects, reinforces with insight and apt illustration the principle that constitutions are not "struck off"; discusses the doctrines of natural rights and individualism embodied in our system; and considers their limitations under the existing social-economic system. The most timely of all is the hitherto unpublished dissertation on the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional. Applying Seeborn's method, Professor McLaughlin works backward from *Marbury v. Madison* through the immediate precedents and antecedents, the decisions of the state courts between 1787 and 1803, the theories propounded in the Convention, and the early state cases, out into the broad field of political theory—the separation of powers, doctrines of "fundamental" law, natural rights and limitations on law-making power, and colonial and old English principles. The upshot of all this erudite searching is that there was no breach in Anglo-Saxon legal tradition when the courts assumed the power to pass upon the validity of statutes. While marvelling at the literary skill and scholarly neatness of this impressive array, the present reviewer cannot help feeling that Professor McLaughlin has strained his evidence, or at least has made a consistent story by neglecting the countervailing testimony. He does not inquire why the fundamental English ideas, so potent in his scheme, did not result in judicial supremacy in other English-speaking lands. He does not bring out the fact that the cases in which the courts had exercised this power previously to the Convention were relatively few and generally questioned by high authorities; he passes by the tremendous popular opposition to this assumption of power by the courts during the confederate period; and he seems to lay too much stress on "ideas" as factors in making institutions. Above all he leaves out of account the undoubted legislative supremacy exercised under the early state constitutions—a supremacy that was everywhere threatening property and minority rights and was, in Madison's opinion, largely influential in bringing about the Convention. In spite of Professor McLaughlin's skillful argument, an equally powerful support might be found for the contention that judicial control was really a new and radical departure of the closing years of the eighteenth century which did not spring from Anglo-Saxon "ideas", but from the practical necessity of creating a foil for the rights of property against belligerent democracy governing through majorities in substantially omnipotent legislatures. This necessity for new safeguards is clearly set forth by Madison in *The Federalist* (number X.), by Hamilton in number LXXVIII., and by Marshall in the fourth chapter of the second volume of his *Life of Washington*.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

The Supreme Court and the Constitution. By CHARLES A. BEARD, Associate Professor of Politics, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 127.)

Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation. Its Origin; the Power to set aside Laws; Boundaries of the Power; Judicial Independence; Existing Evils and Remedies. By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHTY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. viii, 125.)

PROFESSOR BEARD'S book is in the main an expansion of his article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1912, on "The Supreme Court—Usurper or Grantee?" The bulk of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the evidence as to the attitude of members of the Convention of 1787 upon the question of judicial control over legislation. There are chapters dealing also with views expressed before the ratifying conventions, with the spirit of the Constitution, with the views of those who advocated its adoption, and with Marshall's environment before 1803.

The author presents the contemporary evidence with thoroughness, and concludes that a distinct majority of the leaders of the Convention believed "that the judicial power included the right and duty of passing upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress" (p. 50). He finds also that the principle of judicial control was in harmony with the spirit of the Constitution, and with the views of its pronounced advocates.

Professor Beard very properly says that the question of judicial control "did not come squarely before the Convention in such form that a vote could be taken on it" (p. 15). The views of the framers must therefore be sought from their utterances in the Convention, or from their contemporary (or nearly contemporary) statements or actions elsewhere. In the weighing of evidence an even hand is kept in most cases, but there are several lapses from complete impartiality. William S. Johnson and Robert Morris are counted as favoring judicial review because, as senators, they voted for the Judiciary Act of 1789, and George Washington is counted among the supporters of the same principle because as President he approved this measure (pp. 44, 45). The same argument is used with respect to three other members of the Convention (p. 50). But approval of a principle cannot be safely assumed from the approval of an act, the implication of one of whose clauses may not have been attended to or fully understood, and the author recognizes this fact later by suggesting that a vote against the Judiciary Act cannot properly be regarded as evidence of opposition to the principle of judicial control over federal legislation (p. 54).

Another criticism which may be made is that Professor Beard often assumes that more has been proved than is supported by the evidence. In several places he comes almost to the point of saying that the Convention approved the principle of judicial control over legislation

(pp. 63-64, 73). But no question was voted upon which squarely raised the issue and the argument is one of implication from the existence of a written constitution and from the creation of a judicial department. It can hardly be said that the establishment of a written constitution was therefore an approval of the doctrine by the Convention. The evidence does show that a distinct majority of the leaders in the Convention believed in judicial control, and that the greater number of these thought that the establishment of a written constitution and of a judicial system *ipso facto* established a judicial control over acts of Congress. There was no test of the strength of the principle in the Convention but it seems pretty clear from the evidence that had an effort been made to commit the Convention against the doctrine of judicial power, it would not have been successful. The doctrine, if not already accepted, was well on the way toward acceptance. An assumption that the principle of judicial power was firmly established in 1787 does not give sufficient weight to developing sentiment after that date.

In spite of these criticisms, Professor Beard's book may be said to present in a clear and scholarly manner the attitude of the framers of the Constitution, and it may be commended to those who are interested in this subject.

Mr. Dougherty's book covers in part the same field as that of Professor Beard but its scope is somewhat broader. About a third of the volume is devoted to judicial power before 1787, but the discussion of this subject, which is largely summarized from Brinton Coxe's *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, is inadequate and contains a number of errors. The author's thesis, which is asserted almost without argument, is that power to declare acts of Congress invalid is expressly conferred upon the courts by the Constitution; apparently he means to adopt the argument which is clearly summarized in W. M. Meigs's introductory note to Coxe's book, although this is not distinctly shown. In the part of the volume devoted to the views of members of the Convention of 1787, nothing is added to Beard's treatment, which is much the more satisfactory. Mr. Dougherty however devotes more attention to the debates in the ratifying conventions than does Beard. The latter part of the book is devoted to present problems, and the proposals of reform which the author makes, although not new, are sane and well balanced. On the whole, however, it must be said that the book adds little if anything to our knowledge, or to a better understanding of the principle of judicial control over legislation.

W. F. DODD.

MINOR NOTICES

Chronos: a Handbook of Comparative Chronology. By R. J. Hart. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1912, pp. ix, 299.) The title of this book might lead one to expect a work upon the science of chronology, but the continuation of the subtitle describes it accurately as "Chronological notes in history, art, and literature from 8000 B. C. to 1700 A. D., for the use of travellers". It is, therefore, a collection of selected data adapted to the use of studious wanderers in Europe and the Levant with notes for comparison on India, China, and Japan. The part devoted to remote antiquity is measured by millennia, so that from 8000 B. C. to 800 B. C. the matter is compressed into twenty-two pages, in which the author gives due warning of the uncertainty of some periods and the changes constantly being made by the advances of archaeology.

A second part of the book takes up, one century at a time, the period from 800 B. C. to 800 A. D. This division has no particular significance in the treatment, because the remaining centuries are handled in exactly the same manner, yet the central fact is the rise and decline of Greece and Rome and this determines largely the choice of data to be inserted. In part III. the formula for each chapter begins with the Holy Roman Empire and expands over the nations of western Europe as they become active in history, while passing attention is given to the eastern nations with whom they come in contact. The seventeenth century is chosen as a halting point because by that time the Renaissance is an accomplished fact.

The arrangement of the book suits the wants of the amateur traveller who meets with the monuments or scenes of a given period and desires to refresh his memory respecting the main facts of the same century. In order to gain a continuous account of a single country the reader must resort to the index. Notes on the chief features of art, architecture, and literature are attached to each century and are expanded by tables and lists of artists in the appendix. The bibliography of works consulted shows that the compiler has depended for his facts upon modern English writers who are likely to be careful in the use of dates.

J. M. VINCENT.

Les Apologistes Grecs du II^e Siècle de notre Ère. By Aimé Puech, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1912, pp. vii, 342.) Neglecting for the most part the polemic of second-century apologists against paganism, Professor Puech aimed to ascertain the exact state of Christian doctrine in that period, to determine what share each of the apologists had in the doctrinal development, and to discover how far philosophy and how far the Christian tradition was the initiative and controlling influence. For this purpose he makes a close analysis of each work with the patient, exact method of the disciplined philologist who is at the same time a highly

competent intelligence in theology. The work thus produced is one that students of early Christian literature cannot neglect. It has the value of a commentary, but it is also an historical treatise. If a German can be found repeating the old charge of light superficiality against French scholarship, he should be set to read this book, in which indeed he would find some of the older Teutonic dullness. What patient and penetrating research lies behind it may be seen especially by appendix V. on the notion of *πνεῦμα* in the apologists.

The final results of this discussion contain nothing that is startling. Puech's conclusion is that these apologists do not make contemporary philosophy their point of departure, and though they do use philosophy to classify and develop the Christian tradition, they do not subject the tradition to alteration. What they offer is revelation interpreted by reason, and that they do not deal with the whole tradition is because of the limited purpose of an apologetic work. Puech is disinclined to think of them as having limited for themselves the sum of Christian ideas by selection. They do not, like Ignatius and Irenaeus, follow Paul in emphasizing the atoning death of Christ, but Paul did not in that early time dominate the mind of the church, and they do clearly repeat the synoptic conception of Christ victorious over demonic powers. This and the idea of the Word in the Johannine prologue are their chief points of departure.

The negative criticism to which Puech is liable is that, despite his own cautions (p. 15), he seems inclined to interpret the churches by the aid of these apologists. He wishes to know the state of doctrine in the churches and he studies a handful of doctrinal writers, influential in the later intellectual development. But it may be an error to attribute any "state of doctrine" to their contemporaries. The "Apostolic Fathers" illustrate a religious tradition which is hardly viewed as addressed to the intellect. We can hardly ascribe doctrinal views to people who were content to say that their three dogmas were hope of salvation, righteousness, and love (Barnabas I. 6). Puech would seem to forget that those who had doctrinal interests were running off to Gnostic and Marcionite meetings.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Studies in Fronto and his Age: with an Appendix on African Latinity illustrated by Selections from the Correspondence of Fronto. By M. Dorothy Brock, B.A. [Girton College Studies, edited by Lilian Knowles, Litt.D., Reader in Economic History, University of London, no. 5.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1911, pp. xiv, 348.) This volume is, I presume, the first work of a graduate of Girton College, and may perhaps be looked upon as an English counterpart to the doctor's dissertation of Germany or the United States. It differs from the usual dissertation in the comprehensiveness of its aim (as indicated by the title), and in its appeal to the general reader of historical or literary interests, as well as to the more special student of ancient life

and letters. The author's mastery of the obscure text of Fronto—preserved, it will be remembered, in a palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century—and the thoroughness with which she has sifted and digested the labors of earlier scholarship, bearing directly or indirectly upon Fronto, have produced a very serviceable and even interesting account of the man and his time.

The first half of the book contains a series of chapters of quite uneven merit upon the age, archaism, Graecism, Fronto's relations with Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, his character as an historian, his opposition to philosophy, his religion, his theory of oratory and style, his literary criticism, his vocabulary and style, and finally his character. Throughout them there runs an apologetic tone inspired, one feels, by the romanticism of Pater and Professor Mackail. The futility of an attempt to rehabilitate Fronto, to rescue him from the chagrin and disappointment which were the emotions inspired by the first publication of the text, is frankly recognized. Nevertheless the attempt is made valiantly and, it must be conceded, with some measure of success. The author is clearly possessed of sound learning and good taste. The more therefore must one regret that she has essayed to attempt the rôle of an encyclopaedist rather than that of an investigator. For with all praise of the book it must be said that it lacks the leaven of close exploration and of the insight which comes of it. I do not know that it would be possible for our time to form a favorable absolute judgment of Fronto, with—as it must seem to us—his almost imbecile preoccupation with rhetorical and grammatical minutiae; but it would be possible to explain him historically with far greater clearness and sharpness of outline than has been done, and with avoidance of many incidental errors of judgment arising from a focus too close and immediate. A long appendix on African Latinity summarizes the abundant discussion of this topic, and is followed by a selection from the letters of Fronto sufficient in number to give a good impression of his style. The Latin text is accompanied by a translation upon the opposite page which is at once accurate and facile, and in its terms of English phrase often clever.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

A Chronicle of the Popes. By A. E. McKilliam, M.A. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1912, pp. xiii, 487.) This book does not pretend to be a history. As its title indicates, it is a record of facts without any discussion of causes, movements, or results. Mr. McKilliam believes that the existing works of reference on the papacy are in most cases too diffuse to be of service except to students with unlimited time at their disposal, and he is convinced that a handbook "chronicling the names, dates and chief facts concerning each Pope" will not be unwelcome. And he is not altogether wrong.

The volume consists of biographical sketches of the bishops of Rome from Peter and other traditional pontiffs to the present pope, practically

the only connection between the several biographies arising from their chronological sequence. The sketches are based on secondary works, but, be it added, on the best secondary works there are. Obviously there is nothing original in them. Now and then the compiler cites some source, but not in such a way as to indicate his first-hand familiarity with it.

The author strove to be impartial, a difficult task in the treatment of a subject that is in great measure controversial. What success he achieved in this direction he won by confining himself to the externals of papal history—facts and dates. He has discussed the body, not the soul of the papacy. Papal infallibility is dismissed without definition or comment in less than two lines, and is not mentioned in the index. Transubstantiation is said to have "received authoritative definition", but no more information is vouchsafed. Luther protested against indulgences and thereby became the father of a reformation, but what an indulgence means is nowhere explained. In short the "whys" of history are not to be found in these pages; these give the reader much knowledge, but little understanding of the papacy.

E. B. K.

Essays on Questions Connected with the Old English Poem of Beowulf. By Knut Stjerna, Ph.D., sometime Reader in Archaeology to the University of Upsala. Translated and edited by John R. Clark Hall, M.A., Ph.D. (Coventry, published for the Viking Club, 1912, pp. xxxv, 284.) While studying archaeological remains from the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, in which the Scandinavian countries are peculiarly rich, the late Dr. Knut Martin Stjerna, a brilliant young Swedish archaeologist, had his attention drawn to the poem *Beowulf*, where objects apparently similar to those that he was investigating, especially weapons, armor, and ornaments, are frequently mentioned and sometimes described. The result was a series of essays (published between 1903 and 1908) on the archaeological aspects of the poem. It is these essays that Dr. Hall has collected and translated. They deal with subjects such as would naturally suggest themselves to an archaeologist: helmets and swords; obsequies, tombs, and funeral customs; the dragon's hoard and what may have composed it; there are also two essays of a more distinctly historical character that deal with the Swedes and their neighbors in the migration period.

For the student of history, these essays have their chief interest as an effort to throw a little more light upon the historical background of the great epic. Dr. Stjerna seems to hold that in the earlier centuries of our era the Gauts (Geats) had a strong kingdom in southern Sweden, with the island of Öland as its chief centre (p. 74). The Gauts were a Gothic people and kept in close touch with their kinsmen on the shores of the Black Sea. The evidence for this he finds in remains of Byzantine origin that came to Öland in a continuous stream which suddenly stopped in the sixth century. This connection was kept up even after the Gothic

migration to the west: Dr. Stjerna believes that King Hygelac (the Chochilaicus of Gregory of Tours) plundered the Frisian shores (ca. 515) as an ally of the Visigoths (p. 73). But in this way the Gauts were weakened and fell a prey to the Swedes (ca. 560). Beowulf was probably the last Gautish king. A Gautish minstrel, driven from his country by the conquerors, sought refuge among the Danes and later among the Continental Angles, the last remnants of whom were just then departing for Britain. In this way the poem came to have Swedish, Gautish, Danish, and Anglian elements.

It is a plausible hypothesis that the author has built up, one that offers a solution for a great many of the *Beowulf* problems. As a contribution to the history of Germanic culture, the essays are also of great interest. The work is provided with more than one hundred illustrations, nearly all of which show material remains from the age to which *Beowulf* belongs, the sixth and seventh centuries. The editor has found occasional statements that call for correction; but these are always matters of minor detail. The editor has also contributed an excellent introduction and an index that could be much improved.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville. By Ernest Brehaut, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XLVIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1912, pp. 274.) Many students of the Middle Ages and of civilization generally have been fascinated by the medieval beliefs pictured in the first chapter of Rydberg's *Magic in the Middle Ages* and have felt a desire to know more about the subject. This desire has in some measure been met by the pages of Steele's *Mediaeval Lore* and Taylor's *The Mediaeval Mind* and, for Latin readers, by the works of Alexander Neckam, Étienne de Bourbon, Caesar of Heisterbach, and others, selections from which are to be found in *Translations and Reprints*. More than ever will this curiosity about the Middle Ages be appeased by Dr. Brehaut's dissertation, which is an important addition to the English literature on medieval civilization and reflects great credit on its author and the institution under whose auspices it is published.

In an introduction of ninety pages Dr. Brehaut gives a clear and well-written account of what is known of Isidore of Seville, of the spirit of the age in which he lived, and of the works he wrote. This introduction is followed by the core of the volume, the discussion of Isidore's *Etymologies* which forms the basis of the dissertation. This is not a translation of the *Etymologies* as a whole; on the contrary, after a brief introduction and analysis of each book of the original, there follow extracts selected with much judgment and translated in a masterly way. These selections are adequate to satisfying practically any curiosity one may have. The notes are helpful and show methodical work; the bibliography is up to the standard of the rest of the work. The whole

forms the best source-book in English upon medieval civilization and beliefs, known to your reviewer.

It is to be regretted that a book so excellent should have the fault of being unindexed; for it is the kind of book that needs an index which lists, not merely proper names, but as nearly as practicable all subjects treated in the volume. Such an index would cause this useful book to have the wide use it deserves.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Savigny-Stiftung von F. Liebermann. Zweiter Band, zweite Hälfte: Rechts- und Sachglossar. (Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1912, pp. 255-758.) Seldom has such a monument of tireless and almost incredible industry been built by one man as in Professor Felix Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, the second volume of which is now completed by the appearance of its second half. This part, just published, provides the student, in 494 three-column, closely printed pages, with an index *rerum*, especially of legal and institutional terms, to the whole body of Anglo-Saxon law, both in the Saxon and in the Norman codes. The different articles also contain many references to English material, both Saxon and Norman, not contained in the codes, to Continental parallels, and to discussions by other writers, the texts referred to being so fully cited or abstracted that the point is made clear in each case. While the book is thus primarily a glossarial index, it presents, as well, brief but clear expositions of Professor Liebermann's own conclusions on many difficult questions. The third volume, the commentary on the laws, which is promised shortly, will undoubtedly give these at greater length.

A feature of the longer articles, many of which extend to more than ten columns (*Gericht* has sixteen, *Gerichtsbarkeit* twenty-seven, and other related topics to *Gerichtszug* six, not including the *Geistliches Gericht* with thirteen columns, or other special courts), is a special table of contents at the beginning of the article, referring to divisions, which are numbered to facilitate reference. The range of the material put at the command of the investigator may be indicated by the titles of a few of the longer articles: Adel, Bocland, Ealdorman, Ehe and related topics, thirty-two columns, Gefolge, Hundert, Kirche and related topics, thirty columns, Mord and Murdrum, Ordal, Schutz, Sheriff, Sippe, Thegn, Unfrei, twenty-two columns, Urteil, Wergeld. In these articles condensation and abbreviation are carried to the utmost limit, and the reading demands almost the learning of a new language, but it is indispensable, for this index puts at the instant service of the student all the information in all the codes of Anglo-Saxon law, and in much besides, upon every topic. It must be kept constantly at hand as the necessary starting-point of every investigation in the institutional history of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods.

European Arms and Armour in the University of Oxford, principally in the Ashmolean and Pitt-Rivers Museums. Catalogued with introductory notes by Charles Ffoulkes, B.Litt. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. 64.) This is an elaborate catalogue of the more important pieces of arms and armor possessed by the University and Colleges of Oxford. Over two hundred are included, ranging in time from the eleventh century to the nineteenth and in subject from an Anglo-Saxon sword-hilt to a metal-plated officer's vest used in the American Civil War. All receive descriptions, varying in length from four words to six pages, and in nineteen photographic plates many are represented pictorially.

The text opens with an introduction made up of somewhat fragmentary statements concerning "the connexion of the University of Oxford with offensive or defensive weapons" with brief remarks on the origin and history of the Ashmolean and Pitt-Rivers collections, whence most of the specimens are taken. The fullest treatment is given deservedly to a painting of the battle of Pavia and a carving of the battle of Courtrai. The former not only depicts armor and weapons "for the most part carefully" (p. 20), but also displays the position of the troops and the topography of the field with essential accuracy. This feature the author develops in interesting detail with the aid of diagrams. The chief interest of the carving centres in the possible identification of the "godendag". Guiart in his *Chronique Metrique* describes it as a great club tipped with sharp iron, which can be used for striking or for thrusting. This description has given rise to a prolonged controversy over the nature of the weapon. Some maintain that it was a kind of halberd; others consider it to have been a pike (Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, III. 446-447). If the carving is indeed a portrayal of the fight of Courtrai, the "godendag" appears to have been neither a halberd nor a pike, but a heavy club exactly as Guiart describes it. The remaining descriptions, although not devoid of historical interest, contain more of appeal to the antiquarian and collector.

The photographic reproductions constitute by no means the least important portion of the book. These comprise, in addition to the objects mentioned, numerous swords, daggers, and bayonets, several staff weapons and crossbows, various kinds of firearms, and a few pieces of armor. They are excellently done and supply a valuable source for the study of the development of weapons and warfare.

W. E. LUNT.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1182-1183. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXII.] (London, published for the Society by the St. Catherine Press, 1911, pp. xxxii, 204.) This roll has little that is wholly new, but more than the usual amount of supplementary and confirmatory evidence on the most divergent aspects of the history of the

period. During the king's absence across the channel, the administration proceeds on its peaceful course under the able guidance of Glanvill. The eyre becomes, if possible, more prominent than ever as a fiscal engine. The local communities contribute for an increased number of cases of "concealment" and *murdrum*, and in general the offenses both great and small which the justices find worthy of pecuniary satisfaction grow in number and variety. The linendraper of Oxfordshire who was fined because he was not willing to mint money for the king (pp. xxvi, 103) is but one of several amerced for uncommon offenses. The justice which the king has to sell is becoming increasingly popular, and the case of the Jew of Norwich who owes a mark for royal aid in recovering a debt of six marks *cum lucro* (p. 15) is typical of the variety of shapes which this commodity may assume. Mr. Round has edited the text with his accustomed care and accuracy, and contributes his usual introduction on the salient characteristics of the roll, which are too numerous to mention here. The index of places and names is admirable, but the same cannot be said concerning the index of things. More adequate *indices rerum* would greatly increase the utility of subsequent volumes.

W. E. LUNT.

La Guerre Sainte en Pays Chrétien. Essai sur l'Origine et le Développement des Théories Canoniques. Par H. Pissard, Chargé de Conférences à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. v, 194.) M. Pissard discusses the theories by which the canonists justified the Church in preaching crusades against heretics in Christian countries or against the enemies of the temporal powers of the papacy. Two of the six chapters of this essay are upon the Albigensian crusade, because it was the first, and then the most important doctrines took shape. The remaining chapters treat the development of the theories, and, very briefly, the course of events in the crusades and also in some of the political wars in which the Church participated. The survey is brought down to the loss of the Papal States.

According to the author, the crusade against the Albigensians was modelled upon the crusades in the Holy Land, and was considered merely an application of the general powers of police which the pope possessed; the same theory was extended, at the end of the twelfth century, to crusades against political enemies. While some canonists held, with St. Thomas, that "war against heretics is always just", and really more urgent than a crusade against infidels, in practice there was a tendency to seek plausible excuses for such crusades. Political crusades and the great crusades against heretics ended early in the fifteenth century; but it is interesting to note the abortive crusade preached against Queen Elizabeth. Since then the canonists have not modified their theories; but even in 1860 Pius IX. went no further than to excommunicate the invaders of the Papal States.

While the results are not novel, the study is useful because of its thoroughness. There are a few slips or errors, but I think no one of them affects the main theme. Finally, this essay throws important light upon the relations of Church and State, and upon the manner in which the Church was compelled to modify its action, even if the canonical theories did not change.

D. C. M.

La Juridiction de la Municipalité Parisienne de Saint Louis à Charles VII. Par Georges Huisman, Archiviste-Paléographe. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris, publiée sous les auspices du Service de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux Historiques de la Ville.] (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1912, pp. xiii, 261.) This work arose out of studies directed by M. Marcel Poëte, at the historical library of the city of Paris. Originally prepared as a thesis—offered at the École des Chartes in 1910—it bears now, quite distinctly, the usual character of such a writing.

The author is at pains first to recount, in the light of recent studies, how and when the Parisian municipality arose. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *hansa*, or *marchands de l'eau*, acquired certain rights and powers, partly through grants in favor of the *hansa* as a corporation, partly through privileges accorded to the citizens of Paris: in either case those who exercised the powers arising from such grants acted as officers, not of the Parisian burghal body, but of the *hansa*. In the same time also members of the *hansa* grew accustomed to govern the city by acting as royal provosts, two or three holding the office together. About 1260 the *prévôté* was made virtually a *bailliage* (though the name *prévôté* was left to it), with a single head, who would not necessarily be chosen from Paris. That the higher bourgeoisie might not be alienated by this change, the king arranged that the officers of the *hansa* should perform certain duties—connected with the apportionment and collection of taxes—which members of the *hansa* had been performing when acting as royal provosts. This however was to make the heads of the *hansa* officers as well for the Parisian collectivity. The *prévôt* and *jurés* of the *marchands de l'eau* became thus the *prévôt* and *échevins* of Paris.

The municipality once in existence, what were its fortunes to the time of Charles VII., especially its administrative as distinguished from its political rôle? What organization did it have for the performance of its administrative functions? Particularly, what was its judicial competence? M. Huisman concludes, as he advances, that the *Parloir aux Bourgeois*, invested primarily with that jurisdiction by which the *mercatores aquae* had safeguarded their monopoly of commerce on the Seine between Paris and Mantes, gradually gained detailed oversight of navigation on the Seine and its affluents, with powers of enforcement; that it gained also similar charge of commerce in products entering Paris by water, wine above all, and judged various causes arising in connection with such commerce; that out of its power over commerce in

wine and its rôle in reference to taxes it evolved considerable jurisdiction in matters relating to the aids and extraordinary taxes; that it had the ordinary seigniorial jurisdiction over the properties owned and exploited by the municipality but its power of legalizing private acts was limited to acts connected with commerce by water. In general, the competence of the *Parloir* was chiefly economic. The privileges of the Parisian bourgeoisie, the prosperity and development of Parisian commerce, these were its main cares. It was doubtless indeed this narrow sphere of action that permitted the municipal tribunal to prosper as it did beside the two royal tribunals in the capital, the *Parlement* and the *Prévôté*.

The documents utilized are mostly surviving portions of the old archives of the *Hôtel de Ville*, the *Châtelet*, and the *Parlement*—few of them in print. Ninety-four selections from them are given in an appendix, and grouped to form a repertory of municipal jurisprudence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The substance extracted from these materials is treated in a rather abstracted but orderly and searching manner. The work merits the esteem of scholars.

E. W. Dow.

John of Gaunt's Register. Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the Original MS. at the Public Record Office by Sydney Armitage-Smith. In two volumes. [Camden Third Series, vols. XX., XXI.] (London, The Society, 1911, pp. xxv, 350; 415.) These volumes present to us documents connected with the administration of the Duke of Lancaster from 1370 to 1376. The manuscript is a vellum book of over two hundred pages, into which the clerks of the Lancastrian Chancery copied documents passed under the duke's seal, as well as other documents which appeared worth recording for administrative purposes. The work of transcription was performed by Miss Mary Trice Martin, who has frequently placed American scholars under obligations to her for her accurate and scholarly work.

An elaborate and exceedingly valuable index of fifty-seven pages with names of persons and places in Roman letters, and of institutions and other matters in italics, together with a full and scholarly introduction pointing out and describing in detail the principal contributions of the Register to legal and institutional history, add greatly to the value of the volumes. The editor's well-known biography of John of Gaunt, published in 1904, also furnishes a valuable commentary.

The documents, numbering from 1 to 1812, including the appendix, are not arranged in chronological order, and are written for the most part in French, though a few, especially royal charters and those relating to ecclesiastical affairs, are in Latin. They comprise grants, charters, indentures of various kinds, orders to the ducal stewards to pay various sums, to make gifts, to distrain for failure to comply with feudal regulations, orders for masses, and one order of especial interest (no. 1585)

provides for the payment of the sums due for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the death of the Duchess Blanche, who inspired Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.

These documents are analyzed and described so fully in the introduction that no further explanation of them here need be given. They make clear the financial and legal administration of the ducal household, include the full range of feudal tenure and activity, throw light on such subjects as homage, fealty, dower, wardship, nonage, minority, marriage, escheat, forfeiture, wreck, waste, turbary, bondmen, relief, aid, toll, and tallage, and also treat of such subjects of especial legal and constitutional interest as, knight's service, knight's fee, frankpledge, suit of court, jury service, hue and cry, felony, outlawry,oyer and terminer, writs, laborer's sessions and frankalmoigne. They do not appear, however, to disclose any new facts or principles. The Register is particularly rich in two interesting classes of documents, those which concern the alienation of land for religious purposes, and those which describe the peculiar relations existing between the duke and his numerous retainers, including knights, esquires, chaplains, attorneys, physicians, stewards, receivers, feodars, carpenters, cooks, falconers, minstrels and heralds, and all the attendants of a great ducal household.

An appendix of thirteen pages contains the grants by which the lands and holdings of the former duke, Henry of Lancaster, were made over to John, earl of Richmond, and Blanche, his wife, by the king, July 16, 1361; also the letter of William Bacon, mayor of Southampton, which appears in facsimile as the frontispiece to the second volume; and other letters of personal interest, belonging to different dates from 1363 to 1377.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome IV. Du 6 février 1487 au 5 février 1492 (volumes 11 et 12). (Geneva, Kündig, 1911, pp. ix, 570.) Barely recovered from the financial obligations incurred in the Burgundian wars, Geneva faced the demands of the bishop for financial reward for services rendered. The city was also obliged to defend itself against the Duke of Savoy and the military supporters of an unsuccessful bishop-elect. In all their affairs shrewd business and diplomatic sense and a remarkably independent spirit were manifested. Obligated to choose between re-establishment of the very profitable fairs and maintenance of their political liberty, they voted that liberty is more to be desired than fairs, "*petatur libertas potius quam nundene*" (p. 37). The syndics vigorously defended themselves against the tone taken by the ducal commissioners, who were obliged to withdraw their description of Genevans as subjects of Savoy. In the struggle between the candidate of the chapter and of Savoy for the bishopric they steered a discreet and successful middle course with a sound conception of a good bishop as "*virum Deo et civitati gratum*".

The important foreign relations are the main subject-matter of the thirty-six meetings of the general council. The small council's bi-weekly sessions were largely taken up with administrative details. There are interesting regulations concerning health; fires; inspection of meats, streets, leprosy, and hospitals; prohibition of keeping of pigs within the city; measures against Jews; and apparently unsuccessful attempts to regulate the social evil and the prices of food. After setting the price of mutton at seven and beef at four *denarii* a pound, the council vainly tried to compel butchers to sell at government price by permission of free competition, compulsory slaughtering, prohibition of common pastures and city slaughter-houses; but they were eventually compelled to vote that "nothing should be done".

The carefully arranged index of 106 pages is made with discrimination and care and enables the reader interested in a mine of information regarding social, economic, and political conditions to find material quickly. The French equivalents of unusual Latin words are very useful, especially as some of the words are not to be found in Du Cange's *Glossarium*.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

Luthers Werke in Auswahl. Unter Mitwirkung von Albert Leitzmann herausgegeben von Otto Clemen. Erster Band. (Bonn, A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912, pp. iv, 512.) A new edition, designed for students, of Luther's most important works, will be welcome. Both the bulk and the price of the great Weimar edition are to many inconvenient, and moreover the first volumes, published nearly a generation ago, are no longer scientifically up to date. The present selection, to be completed in four handy volumes, though small, is intended to show all sides of the reformer, his relation to the ecclesiastical, social, and cultural movements of his day, his work on the Bible, his controversial and satiric writings, in short, "den ganzen Luther". That the selection begins with the year 1517 is not to be regretted, as the previous important period has been so recently and so well covered in Professor Scheel's *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung*, which would, indeed, serve as an excellent introduction to the present series.

The editing evinces all that painstaking care for minutiae characteristic of German scholarship, care which is, after all, so necessary for fruitful study. "In minimis versatur", as Erasmus said of his own editorial labors, "sed sine quibus nemo evasit maximus; nugas agitat, sed quae seria ducunt". The text is occasionally better than the Weimar; the introduction and notes, though extremely concise, give all needful light, and now and then suggest new facts of some importance, as for example that Luther had the ninety-five theses printed before October 31, 1517 (p. 1), or that the introduction to the address *An den Christlichen Adel*, containing the passage on the three walls of the Romanists, was written after the rest of the work had been completed

(p. 362). The Latin works are printed in the usual orthography; the German are reproduced with diplomatic exactitude, from the earliest extant edition. Professor Albert Leitzmann has read them over from the linguistic standpoint, and has made the requisite explanatory annotations.

In conclusion, while expressing our obligations to the general thoroughness of Herr Clemen's work, a few oversights or doubtful points may be noted. On page 10 he follows Enders (I. 177) in dating one of Luther's letters "end of March or beginning of April", although Professor Hoppe had shown (*Luthers Sämtliche Werke*, St. Louis, 1904, vol. XXI, no. 68) that the epistle could not have been written later than March, and recently Professor Kalkoff (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXII. 411, note) has given reasons for placing it in the beginning rather than the end of the month. Again (p. 174) he follows Enders (II. 221) in putting an epistle "between November 1 and 7", without noticing Hoppe's dating (*op. cit.*, no. 225), which seems to me more probable, "middle of October". Finally, Herr Clemen repeats from Köstlin-Kawerau the old misstatement that the condemnation of Luther by the University of Louvain took place on November 7, 1519 (p. 324, note), although M. H. de Jongh has shown the true date to have been September 7 (*L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, Louvain, 1911, p. 208). A few misprints have been observed: "ZKZ" for "ZKG" (p. 15, line 2); *δδέρσις* (p. 140, note).

PRESERVED SMITH.

The Naval Miscellany. Edited by Sir John Knox Laughton, R.N., D.Litt., Professor of Modern History, University of London. Volume II. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XL.] (London, Navy Records Society, 1912, pp. x, 430.) The documents contained in this volume relate chiefly to the navy and the merchant marine of Great Britain and are derived from both manuscript and printed sources. The earliest is of the date 1540, and the latest of the date 1897. The longer and more important documents are accompanied with brief, explanatory introductions. Among the editors of documents are Sir John Knox Laughton, Professor C. H. Firth, Admiral Sir T. Sturges Jackson, and Messrs. R. G. Marsden and Alan Moore. There is but little information in the book relating to American history, as may be seen from the index, in which only the following references bearing on this subject were found: American merchantmen, *Minerva* (p. 314) and *Susquehanna* (p. 405, the captain of this vessel, Caleb Cushing, was suspected of favoring the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815); Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor of New York (p. 293); and difficulties of the frigate *Jason* at New York in 1807 (p. 374). Information was also noted respecting the movements of British vessels in the West Indies and the voyage of the *Barbara* to Brazil in 1540. All the documents are in English except a minor one in French; the Complaynt

of Scotlande is in Scottish dialect. The typography of the book is excellent and the index is satisfactory.

The following is a synopsis of the contents of the volume: Voyage of the *Barbara* to Brazil, 1540; the Sea Scene from the Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549; the Taking of the *Madre de Dios*, 1592 (consisting of (1) a treatise of my Lord of Cumberland's ship's voyage, (2) Sir John Burgh's report, (3) the report of Captain Thompson, (4) the deposition of John Hampton, and (5) a true report of the taking of the carack); a Narrative of the Battle of Santa Cruz, written by Sir Richard Stayner, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, 1660-1663; Extracts from a Commissioner's Note Book, 1695 *circa* (containing (1) scheme of stations for cruisers, (2) explanation of dockyard terms, (3) reflections on the naval strength of Great Britain, (4) the fight with the French in the Barfleur campaign of 1692, and (5) the attempt on Brest of 1694); the Journal of M. de Lage de Cueilly, Captain in the Spanish Navy during the Campaign of 1744, 1746; Sale of Dead Man's Effects, 1750; Letter of James Watson to Admiral Robert Digby, concerning the Mutiny at the Nore, 1797; Documents from the Letter Books of Sir Charles Thompson, Bart., Vice-Admiral, 1797-1798 (containing (1) the tactics of Sir John Jervis, with diagrams, (2) memorial of the French ambassador at Madrid to Godoy, and (3) correspondence of Sir Charles Thompson with Lord Spencer, Sir J. Jervis, Captain J. Irwin and others); Orders by Sir John Jervis, 1796-1797; Letters of Lord St. Vincent, 1800-1801 (the principal letters are to Evan Nepean, secretary of the Admiralty); Letter of Commander Charles Inglis to Lieutenant Thomas B. Young, 1801, concerning Operations on the Coast of Egypt; the Memoirs of George Pringle, Esq., Captain, Royal Navy, Written by Himself, 1795-1809; Pedigree of the Naval Duncans; Operations in the Scheldt, 1809; Frustration of the Plan for the Escape of Napoleon Bonaparte from Bordeaux, July, 1815 (contains letters by Admiral Baudin, Lord Keith, Hon. F. W. Aylmer, Capt. Edmund Palmer, and others); Extract from the Journal of Admiral Benjamin William Page, 1840 *circa*; and Origin of the Phrase "Well done, *Phacton*," 1897.

C. O. PAULLIN.

Anglais et Français du XVIII^e Siècle. Par Ch. Bastide, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur agrégé au Lycée Charlemagne. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1912, pp. xii, 362.) This is a miscellaneous collection of essays, charmingly written, concerning the lives and activities of French travellers, merchants, literary men, and refugees in England from the time of Queen Elizabeth to that of Queen Anne. It contains a number of new facts, and many more which, if not entirely new, are presented in a fresh light. The work begins with an interesting discussion of the various routes from London to Paris in the age of Louis XIV., and of the time and expense of the journey. Further on we find a number of

valuable details concerning the life of Guillaume du Gard, and the French weekly newspaper—the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*—which was published at the English capital under his direction from 1650 to 1657. There is an able discussion of the documents concerning Shakespeare recently discovered at the Public Record Office by Mr. C. W. Wallace of the University of Nebraska, and the evidence afforded by them that the great English poet lodged in London at the house of a Huguenot wig-maker, Christophe Mongoye, from 1598 to 1604. The concluding essay of the volume deals with the literary career of Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, the first French translator of Robinson Crusoe.

These examples will give a very fair idea of the sort of information contained in the eleven essays of which this book is composed. Few if any of the matters with which it deals can be regarded as being of first-rate historical importance; its field lies rather on the edges than in the centre of history—at least of history in the older, narrower sense of the term. The *pièce de résistance* is, unquestionably, the two chapters on the political influence of the Huguenots in England: but we cannot feel that M. Bastide is at his best in treating of this topic. What he has to say about the period of the Revocation and later is admirable, but the story he attempts to trace cannot be regarded as complete until a far more exhaustive examination has been made of the earlier years—especially the influence in England of the political theorists and writers of the latter part of the sixteenth century, such as Beza, Hotman, and Du Plessis Mornay. The story of Anglo-French relations in this period presents no more interesting and significant problem than this, and much more remains to be done before it can be regarded as solved.

We cannot close this brief notice without a passing tribute to the lucidity, grace, and precision of the author's style. To say that it is pre-eminently French in its quality is perhaps the best possible description. The historical writing of other countries still lags far behind that of France in this respect.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

The Abbé Sieyès: an Essay in the Politics of the French Revolution. By J. H. Clapham, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (London, P. S. King and Son, 1912, pp. vi, 275.) The subtitle of this volume suggests that it is not primarily a biography, but an attempt to summarize the political doctrines of the Abbé Sieyès and to indicate the extent of their influence. The biographical element is present, though strictly subordinate. This is also true of M. Neton's *Sieyès*, published a dozen years ago. Apparently not much biographical material exists. It is significant that only six pages are given to the last thirty-six years of the life of Sieyès. Of course, after 1800 he ceased to be important politically. He was one of the few senators who resisted the movement to create the empire, and yet in 1808 he accepted at

Napoleon's hands a patent of nobility. The special contribution which Mr. Clapham's volume makes to the study of the Revolution is the full analyses of the pamphlets and constitutional projects of Sieyès, who was an incorrigible doctrinaire with a happy facility in phrase-making. The most famous project is the one which furnished General Bonaparte at least a starting-point for the consular settlement of 1799. Mr. Clapham shows that its fundamental ideas appeared in *Quelques Idées de Constitution applicables à la Ville de Paris*, which Sieyès prepared at the request of the electoral assembly of Paris in July, 1789. The principle that none should be chosen to office who did not enjoy the trust of the people, while appointments should be made by superior authority, in other words, "confidence should come from below and power from above", appears here, as in 1799, in the lists of eligibles. The highest officials, generals, judges, and ministers, should be selected from the national list by the king. In discussing the form the project took in 1799 Mr. Clapham is inclined to agree with M. Vandal that the Boulay version is the true one, and that the Daunou version, accepted by Professor Aulard as the first to be put forward, contained "either what Sieyès wanted before the *coup d'état* or what his later experience taught him he ought to have demanded at that time". In reference to the spelling of Sieyès's name Mr. Clapham remarks that he has seen the signatures Sieyès, Siéyes, or Sieyes, but none with two accents.

H. E. B.

Die Staatstheorien der Französischen Nationalversammlung von 1789. Ihre Grundlagen in der Staatslehre der Aufklärungszeit und in den Englischen und Amerikanischen Verfassungsgedanken. Von Dr. Robert Redslob, Privatdozent der Rechte an der Universität Strassburg. (Leipzig, Veit und Compagnie, 1912, pp. 368.) Interest in the political theories of the French Revolution is attested by the simultaneous appearance of three monographs on the subject. The studies by Marcaggi and Rees do not concern us here; Dr. Redslob's work belongs to the historical school rather than to the theoretical or systematic. At the same time the tendency among German writers on political science to emphasize theory is very marked, due without doubt to the fact that the doctrines and principles of popular government are still too important as factors in the development of constitutional government in Germany to admit of the objective historical treatment accorded them in Great Britain and the United States.

Of his purpose the author says: "Wir stellen uns zur Aufgabe die Staatstheorien der Nationalversammlung systematisch darzustellen und auf ihre Quellen zurückzuführen." The constitution of 1791, he maintains, is out and out the product of ideas and theories. "Sie ist ein Gebäude von Grund aus neu zusammengefügt aus den Lehrsätzen der Staatstheorie . . . aus wissenschaftlichen Prinzipien abgeleitet. Damit ist alles gesagt." It can in no sense, he says, be held to be an evolu-

tionary product in constitutional history; nor is it the result of the imitation of foreign constitutions. That this opinion is too extreme for acceptance by the historian, impressed with the influence of material conditions surrounding the adoption of the constitution of 1791, need scarcely be pointed out in this place. Indeed it is fortunate that the author's position on this question is not essential to his main work.

In tracing the great ideas of 1789 to their origin, the author first takes up natural rights, the social contract and its corollaries, the general will, popular sovereignty, and the rights of man; then he discusses in successive chapters the institutions created by the constitution to give effect to these in actual government, namely popular representation, the electoral system, the constitution-making and legislative powers, and last the administrative and judicial agencies. The treatment of the concept of sovereignty is excellent. Critics of Rousseau's supposed theory that a state of nature existed at some time in the past are sarcastically dismissed. Locke predicated such a state as an historic fact, but Rousseau, he maintains, did not. The contribution of America appears very considerable, especially toward the concept of sovereignty, Dr. Redslob showing a clear and logical understanding of our constitutional history. The same is true of his treatment of English theory and practice. The French side of the case seems less successfully handled. In a subject of this kind the faulty work of the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires* becomes a serious matter, yet Dr. Redslob accepts their work without even the suggestion of critical discrimination. Irregularities in citing authorities occur frequently, and in a number of instances the author overlooks important works altogether, as may be illustrated by the absence of Atger's *Essai sur l'Histoire du Contrat Social* from the chapter on the "Gesellschafts-Vertrag". The bibliography is indifferent and the work has no index.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Le Congrès de Rastatt, 11 juin 1798—28 avril 1799. Correspondance et Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par MM. P. Montarlot et L. Pingaud. Tome I^{er}. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 409.) As Carlyle said of the Congress of Soissons, the Congress of Rastatt, "an empty enigma in the memories of some men . . . sat for above a year;—and did nothing". The murderous assault upon the departing French envoys has, however, given to the history of the congress a melancholy and mysterious significance. The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, which has already shed the light of three volumes of documents upon the arrest and execution of the Duke of Enghien, now begins a similar service for the other mysterious contemporary tragedy of international significance.

In pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio signed on October 17, 1797, Bonaparte, Treilhard, and Bonnier, as representatives of France, met the deputation of the Holy Roman Empire at Rastatt on December

9 to settle the problems at issue between the new French republic and the crumbling empire. On March 9, 1798, the imperial deputation finally assented to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France and accepted the Rhine as the international boundary. This left a multitude of unsettled details to be worked out, including the possession of the islands in the river, the status of the riparian fortresses, the adjustment of the debts of the ceded territories, the application of the laws against the émigrés, and, most difficult of all, the problem of compensations to be awarded to the princes who had been deprived of territories on the left bank of the Rhine, by secularizations to be made on the right bank.

Bonaparte hurried away to consider an invasion of England, while Treilhard left to take a seat in the Directory, leaving the impossible Bonnier as sole member of the commission. As new members of the commission Jean Debry and Claude Roberjot were named in June, 1798. The present volume dismisses the early proceedings of the congress, and includes only documents beginning with June 11, and closing with September 26, 1798. These documents, eighty-one in number, include eighteen letters from Debry to Talleyrand, seventeen to Treilhard, six to Merlin of Douai, five to Laharpe, four to Sieyès, and four to Joseph Bonaparte, and fifteen from Roberjot to Talleyrand. The letters addressed to Talleyrand and Joseph Bonaparte are drawn from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the others are from private collections. It is a serious omission that the source of each document is not stated with precision. A "Discours Préliminaire et Historique", prepared by Debry, dated August 8, 1800, is published from a copy made by Lagrenée, his secretary as prefect of the Doubs.

The comprehensive but commonplace introduction of 109 pages is evidently intended to cover the whole work, which will apparently extend to three volumes. It contains a useful account of the personnel of the congress, and details relating to the procedure and to the social intercourse of the members. The foot-notes are abundant, appropriate, and informing. As M. Pingaud has written a life of Debry (1909) and M. Montarlot has included an account of Roberjot in his *Députés de Saône-et-Loire* (II., 1907), the editors are well fitted to their task. In clearly depicting Roberjot instead of Debry as the one real diplomat and worker on the commission, the editors are perhaps rendering tardy justice; but the bias of some of their judgments is too obvious, especially with regard to Reubell, where they might have profited by reference to M. Raymond Guyot's two excellent studies recently published.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820. By Woodbury Lowery. Edited with notes by Philip Lee Phillips, F.R.G.S., Chief, Division of Maps and Charts. (Washington, Government Printing Office,

1912, pp. x, 567.) No one acquainted with the volumes of Mr. Woodbury Lowery on *The Spanish Settlements in the United States* can have other feeling than the deepest regret that he was not permitted to complete the task he had set for himself. Much of the material he had gathered during his years of study, used and unused, he left by will to the Library of Congress. In the volume which is here reviewed we find an attempt at editing the manuscript notes of Mr. Lowery to which he had given the caption *A Preliminary List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States*. It seems hardly probable that he would have considered his list a descriptive one, as the editor has chosen to call it, for such it is not. The entries, there being 750 titles, are rather bibliographical than descriptive, and in very many instances are incomplete. In about one-half of these entries Mr. Lowery includes no reference to the particular value of the map for a study of the region of Spanish settlements within the limits of the United States. Where a descriptive reference of this character does appear, in any number of the list, it is generally brief, as for example, "It shows the west coast of Florida", or "Shows Florida and Gulf of Mexico with names". We may rest assured however that it was the intention of the author, at some future time, to have these notes carefully revised, expanded, and printed that they might serve as material explanatory of his own views and as documentary material for those who might wish to make further investigations within this field of Spanish settlement. To have completed Mr. Lowery's preliminary list, and to have given a more extended description of each map, would have been editorial work well worth the doing.

The editor expresses the opinion that "the author's point of view in regard to publication, has been substantially followed". It may however be noted that in those instances in which Mr. Lowery calls the maps to his aid, in either of his volumes, he refers somewhat in detail to their contents, showing exactly wherein they are of value. (See for example, I. 128, and II. 410-417.)

It is most remarkable that the editor has failed to see and record this point of special significance in such a list of maps. Had he undertaken to show in his voluminous notes wherein the several maps record important geographical and historical information, each in its own peculiar way, we might have had a volume that would have been a real contribution within the field of historical cartography or historical geography.

We cannot be certain from the editing how many of the 306 maps which are actually in the Lowery collection are originals and how many are reproductions, and the same criticism applies to many of those listed as being in the Library of Congress. That reproductions are numerous is sufficiently evident, but there is no clear indication of the size or the character of the same.

In the editor's notes, which make up a considerable part of the

volume, there is a fund of information miscellaneous in character, bibliographical, biographical, descriptive, but it is very evident that there was no clearly thought out plan either in collecting or in arranging these notes. Repetitions are remarkably numerous. There is much inserted which is wholly irrelevant, out of date, and inexact. Note as one single instance how antiquated is the reference to the Stobnicza Map, no. 8. In his *List of Geographical Atlases* the editor gives evidence of having had a plan and a purpose, in this his last publication we have a most disappointing volume.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West. By Mrs. Corra Bacon Foster. (Washington, Columbia Historical Society, 1912, pp. viii, 277.) This volume comprises three reprints from the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* as follows: I. The Ohio Company and Other Adventures, 1748-1774; II. The Patowmack Company, 1784 to 1828, from its Unpublished Records; III. Life of Colo. Charles Simms, Gentleman, with selections from his Correspondence.

Part I. contains a desultory résumé of the early enterprises in the Potomac Valley based on the common local authorities—Lowdermilk, Scharf, Darlington, Washington, etc., though Thwaites's and Sloane's volumes are referred to in a foot-note to prove that "the French were preparing to take possession of all that fertile [trans-Allegheny] land". The "Other Adventures" are the Fredericktown Adventurers, the Vandalia Company, and the Ballendine Scheme.

Part II. contains a history of the Potomac Company, based, in the beginning, on the correspondence of prominent men concerned, mostly the published letters of Washington; later, certain original papers owned by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company are used as a basis, together with the many acts of state legislatures: numerous quotations, many of them relevant, break the continuity of the interesting story, and at the end comes an appendix consisting of seventy-nine pages of documentary material, ranging from extracts from Rochefoucault's *Travels* to engineers' reports. Students of transportation will be glad to know of the existence of the original material here used in fuller explanation of the untoward history of the canal.

Part III. is a sketch of the life of Charles Simms, soldier of Dunmore's War and the Revolution, lawyer for George Croghan, and eight years president of the Potomac Company; the story is enriched by a number of unconnected letters of intrinsic interest from the Simms Papers in the Library of Congress.

As a whole the general reader will find the volume of great interest, while the student will appreciate the introduction to some unpublished material and the story of the struggle of the canal for life and the pursuit of happiness. The illustrations are half-tone reproductions of

photographs of manuscripts and historic sites; they are equally excellent and interesting, alone making the book quite worth while. From the beginning the Potomac avenue westward has had a unique place in our annals; every contribution concerning it has its value.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Fanning's Narrative: being the Memoirs of Nathaniel Fanning, an Officer of the Revolutionary Navy, 1778-1783. Edited and annotated by John S. Barnes. (New York, Naval History Society, 1912, pp. xxii, viii, 258.) This republication of Fanning's *Memoirs* by the Naval History Society is very commendable, for the editions of 1806 and 1808 are extremely rare, and the *Narrative* is of unusual value and interest. It contains one of the three most important contemporary accounts of the fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Scrapis*, and, moreover, contains one of the most lively pictures extant of the life of a privateersman during the American Revolution. It is plain that Fanning kept, as he states, a diary or journal, for the dates and facts are accurate in cases where he should have had first-hand knowledge. At times he romances a little, but he is so transparent that the reader suspects him at once. He is so plainly an admirer of Paul Jones, that his description of his meaner characteristics has convincing verisimilitude. He tells us of Jones's furious temper, how he kicked his officers and beat them on the head with his speaking trumpet, and then often turned about and invited them to dine with him. With the purpose of inducing Fanning to enlist, Jones lied about the destination of the *Richard*, but later was scrupulously honest when there was every opportunity to be otherwise. He returned all of the silver plate and rich belongings of the captain of the *Scrapis*, although the rules of war gave them to the captor. In refuting the common report that Jones was a pot-valiant fellow, Fanning tells of an abstemious three glasses of wine per day, and naught else but "lemonade, lime juice and water". He tells a curious story of the *Bon Homme Richard*, sixty years in the king's service, twice discarded as unseaworthy, and after being laid up as a hulk, "as many joints in her backbone as a rattlesnake"—fitted up and placed under the command of Paul Jones to become the terror of the British seas. In addition to the pictures of life on the seas Fanning gives some interesting accounts of what he saw while travelling in England and France. No account of the poverty and beggary in France before the Revolution is more vivid than his. The author constantly reveals his lack of any but the most common education, yet with all its crudities the style is interesting. The editing is well done, and the lack of an index is compensated by a full and excellent table of contents. The volume is very attractively printed. C. H. VAN TYNE.

John Hancock: the Picturesque Patriot. By Lorenzo Sears. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1912, pp. xi, 351.) This is the

first biography of Hancock to be published that is worth consideration by students of history. Professor Sears has given us a just and careful estimate of Hancock's character, a lively description of his personality, and a satisfactory account of his Revolutionary career. He has used the available Hancock manuscripts, the more obvious sources; and drawn liberally—far too liberally in the earlier chapters—upon his broad knowledge of eighteenth-century society and literature. There is little positive contribution to historical knowledge or theory, save that in chapter 1. we are told that the scandalous doings of Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardiner in Old Braintree were “molders of disposition” of its native sons, Hancock, Quincy, and Adams. Hancock's motives for joining the Whigs are defended from the aspersions of the Loyalist school of historians. His chief value to the Revolutionary cause is shown to be his giving “to a democratic enterprise the aristocratic following of himself and a few friends . . . as well as the funds that usually accompany respectability” (p. 344). He made an efficient President of Congress, but his influence on the course of events was slight. There are entertaining chapters on Hancock's courtship, his undergraduate life, and his irregularities as treasurer of Harvard College; but the period 1780–1793, when Hancock was the “boss” of Massachusetts politics, is neglected. No serious inaccuracies have been noted; but the list of Hancock's Latin School text-books (p. 23) is taken from a description of the curriculum thirty years later; and the statement that “there is no disposition to perpetuate the name and memory [of the Loyalists], unless in Canada” (p. 247), is hardly accurate.

SAMUEL E. MORISON.

Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778. Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society and published at the charge of the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. [Draper Series, vol. III.] (Madison, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912, pp. xvii, 329.) Previous volumes in this series have dealt with Dunmore's War and with the earlier phases of the Revolution on the upper Ohio. As indicated by the title the present volume is a continuation of the story of the Revolution in the upper Ohio valley and along the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is based chiefly upon the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, supplemented by a few documents from other sources. The events herein portrayed are connected immediately with those narrated in the preceding volume, opening with the assumption by General Edward Hand of the command of the troops at Fort Pitt, with jurisdiction over the frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Charged by Congress with the protection of the frontier against the inroads of the western Indians, who were being aroused to action by the British authorities in Canada and at Detroit, he was given a mere hand-

ful of regular troops and was made dependent largely upon the militia of the border counties. The service was hampered by the slow and uncertain movements of the local militia, by the frequent bickerings of the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, by the widely scattered frontier settlements, which increased the difficulty of affording proper protection, by the presence within the settlements of many Loyalists, and by the irresponsible actions of the border settlers which frequently led to unnecessary enmity with the neighboring tribes of Shawnee and Delaware Indians. The treacherous murder of Chief Cornstalk of the former tribe is a conspicuous example, concerning which some new facts are presented in this volume. During the greater part of the year 1777 General Hand and his subordinates were engaged in perfecting and holding the line of defense which extended from Kittanning on the north to the Great Kanawha on the south. An offensive campaign in the direction of Sandusky undertaken in the winter of 1777-1778 proved abortive and plans for an expedition in the spring of 1778 were betrayed by Colonel Alexander McGee, who had joined the British cause. The volume closes with the voluntary retirement of General Hand from the command of the West. Some details are also given concerning the preparations of Colonel George Rogers Clark for his expedition to the Illinois Country. The volume is accompanied by a facsimile of a map showing the frontier of northwest Virginia during the Revolution, and by a number of portraits and a full index. The editorial notes, mostly biographical, are full, and evidently based upon the Draper Manuscripts. At times the reader is curious to know the exact sources of information on certain points. It is scarcely necessary to add that much remains to be published before we shall have a complete understanding of the period.

C. E. CARTER.

Washington and Lincoln: Leaders of the Nation in the Constitutional Eras of American History. By Robert W. McLaughlin. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. ix, 278.) This is a comparative study, more of the times, than of the personalities, of the men named in the title. The last of the seven chapters is devoted to the comparison of the personal qualities reflected in the statesmanship of Washington and Lincoln. The preceding six chapters are occupied in describing the stages in the development of the problem of power in government. The relationship between the two great figures which the author is concerned to bring out is that of "builder" and "maintainer" of "the arch of empire". In the problem of power in government, its lodgment, source, expression, and abuse, a unity is found which presides over the whole course of development in the century between 1765 and 1865. The development is made to fall into five periods—those of experiment, protest, and formulation, from 1765 to 1789, of definition in 1830, and of "application" in the Civil War period. In the first three stages

Washington presides over the task of reaching a solution for America of the problems of government already mentioned. By 1830 changed conditions necessitate an attempt at more precise definition of the terms of the solution. Lincoln's task is to apply the essence of the original solution, modified to meet the changed conditions—"to maintain the keystone of the arch".

The book is obviously designed for the general reader, who may be expected to find it interesting and edifying. One may hazard the conjecture that it is an expansion of one or more series of popular lectures. The outlines of the plan of treatment are made relentlessly clear at every step. Anecdote is diligently employed for purposes of enlivenment. The author has consulted the sources and is aware of much of the modern literature of the subject. It is necessary to observe, however, that throughout the book, carelessness and awkwardness of literary expression seriously mar the effectiveness of presentation.

CHARLES W. SPENCER.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War. By William Warren Sweet, Ph.D. (Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern Press, 1912, pp. 228.) This book was offered as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania. After a brief historical introduction, it discusses the attitude of the church in the Border States, in the New England Atlantic States, and in the Central and Northwestern States. There follow accounts of missions and periodicals during the war, of the activity of chaplains and bishops, of co-operation with other religious organizations, and a very interesting and valuable bibliography. The appendix contains chiefly lists of Methodist chaplains. The treatment is scholarly, but there are typographical errors in quoted passages. They are evidently copied from the originals, but indication of the error should have been given (pp. 23, 158).

The subject is in itself an illustration of the attention which American historians are just beginning to give to the neglected field of church history, and the contents illustrate some of the contributions which such studies may be expected to make. The bulk of the material is drawn from fresh sources. It yields to the study of public opinion not side-lights, but direct clarification. The fact that the break between the sections at the time of the war did not exactly correspond to that between the two branches of the church in 1844 proves illuminating rather than confusing. The parallelism between state rights and conference rights is interesting.

The study is ecclesiastical rather than religious. The author might well have devoted more attention to methods and results of the camp revivals, to an analysis of sermons, and to the reflex effect of the war on church thought. He has, however, refrained from handling questions involving subjective treatment, deterred by a somewhat too narrow interpretation of "scientific" method. He achieves impartiality, but one feels

that the cause of historic accuracy would have been even better served if the "mephitic gases" which Professor R. G. Stevenson, who wrote the introduction, refers to as latent in chapter v., had been permitted a few quiet and regulated explosions.

C. R. FISH.

The New Market Campaign, May, 1864. By Edward Raymond Turner, Professor of European History, University of Michigan. (Richmond, Whittet and Shepperson, 1912, pp. xiv, 203.) Grant's plans for the spring campaign of 1864 provided that when he advanced Butler should threaten Richmond by way of the James River and Sigel move in two columns, one under Crook, up the Kanawha Valley, and the other under Sigel himself, up the Shenandoah Valley with the object, primarily, of preventing the sending of supplies or reinforcements to Lee in the Wilderness.

Butler was promptly bottled up. Crook fought two successful engagements, inflicted some damage, and then halted, later returning to his starting-point. Sigel advanced slowly to New Market where he was met by Breckinridge and defeated with heavy loss. So complete was the Confederate victory, that the upper valley was entirely cleared of Federals and Breckinridge enabled to send aid to Lee when aid was sorely needed.

New Market was therefore one of the most important secondary engagements of the war; but it is best known, perhaps, because of the presence with the Confederate forces of the boys of the Virginia Military Institute. Their gallantry and steadiness stimulated the whole army and contributed largely to the Confederate victory.

Professor Turner has written a very interesting and instructive account of the New Market campaign and battle. He gives first a concise but graphic narrative of events without the usual extended details, so often bewildering, of the inevitable controversies as to the numbers engaged and the part taken by the different commands. These he reserves for later chapters and by the time the reader reaches them he does so with an understanding that enables him to appreciate the evidence offered and the conclusions reached. There are numerous notes, an extensive bibliography, and an index. A special word of praise is due the admirable illustrations of the battlefield as it is to-day. The book can be cordially commended to both the student and the general reader.

South America: Observations and Impressions. By James Bryce. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912, pp. xxiv, 611.) Of the sixteen chapters of this work, constituting about two-thirds of the whole, eleven are devoted to a description of six South American countries, including Panama, which the author visited in the course of a tour of four months. The remaining five chapters discuss political, social, and economic phenomena associated with Latin America in general, and con-

stitute by far the most valuable part of the book. Nowhere else in English will be found a series of observations and impressions so accurate, so profound, or so instructive. At the same time the reviewer must dissent strongly from some of the statements regarding the lack of intellectual, scientific, and artistic progress in Latin America; nor is he disposed to admit the propriety of the author's constant use of the term "North American" when referring to the people of the United States. The work also provides a few maps and a page or two of notes on books and travel conditions.

While no one is better equipped than Mr. Bryce to produce illuminating pictures of society anywhere in the world, it is to be regretted that his incidental treatment of Spanish-American history has been derived, it would seem, mainly from reading the conventional misrepresentation of Spanish rule. Had he made use of a treatise like Bourne's *Spain in America*, he could not have condemned the Spanish colonial system in so sweepingly a dogmatic fashion (p. 16).

As a result of this unfamiliarity with the sources of Spanish-American history, numerous errors have crept into the work. Some of them are quite possibly typographical slips. Others cannot be so disposed of. Pedrarias, for example, was not a viceroy (p. 11), and the statements about the viceroy of Peru (p. 47) need great modification to be true. The execution of Tupac Amaru (p. 116) warrants neither of the conclusions offered. It was not Toledo in 1575, but Loaysa in 1551 (pp. 162-163), who estimated the population of Peru at a figure that rested on no basis of fact whatever. Contrary to the author's implication (p. 165), no Indians were ever brought before the Inquisition. The *audiencia* of Charcas (Bolivia) owed its origin to none of the reasons specified on page 166. The assertions about the absence of the Inquisition in Chile (p. 218) are altogether erroneous. Mendoza was not the governor of Peru (p. 249) but the son of the viceroy of Peru. It is quite inaccurate to say that permission was ever given to the "Atlantic ports" of the Spanish colonies "to trade with Europe". The Brazilians were not expelled from Uruguay in 1814 (p. 350). The treaty of Tordesillas did not provide for a demarcation line three hundred and seventy leagues "farther west" (p. 366). "Juan Ulloa" (p. 463), finally, was not "a humane and orthodox Spaniard", but in reality consisted of two individuals named Jorge Juan y Sentacilia and Antonio de Ulloa. Nor does Professor Moses say that "there were two Ulloas: Juan and Antonio", even though "others hold there was but one".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Association was held in Boston and Cambridge on December 27-31. The programme provided for conferences on historical bibliography with a discussion of the reviewing of historical books, on ancient history, on medieval history with a discussion upon profitable fields of investigation, on American history with especial reference to the period 1815-1860, on modern history, particularly the history of modern commerce, and on military history. In the annual conference of archivists a plan for a manual of archive economy was presented and discussed. In the conference of historical societies the principal subject was the relation of genealogy to history. A joint session was held with the New England History Teachers' Association, at which a report on historical equipment in high schools and colleges was presented. A meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association considered, as its general subject, New England and the West, and a joint session was held with the American Political Science Association. There were also two general sessions, on European history and American history respectively. The presidential address, on History as Literature, by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, will be printed in our next number, which will also contain the usual general account of the whole meeting.

At the meeting of the Executive Council held in New York on November 30, a nominating committee of five members of the Association was appointed, consisting of Professors Max Farrand, Ephraim D. Adams, Walter L. Fleming, Frederic L. Paxson, and Miss Lucy M. Salmon, to nominate officers for 1913. Provision was made for the appointment at the Boston meeting, one month later, of a similar nominating committee for 1914, with the expectation that members of the Association should during the present year send to the committee then appointed any suggestions that they may wish to make respecting the selection of officers. Upon an invitation from Columbia, South Carolina, it was voted that one general session should be held in that city as a preliminary to the general meeting of the Association at Charleston in December, 1913. Provision was made for the securing of an American publisher for the proposed bibliography of modern English history, prepared jointly by an English committee and a committee of the Association; for the reprinting of Professor David S. Muzzey's prize essay on *The Spiritual Franciscans* in a style uniform with the later prize essays; and for the taking of subscriptions toward a revised and amended edition of Dr. Ernest C. Richardson's *Check List of European History Collections*.

The *Annual Report* for 1910 was distributed to members in November. The *Annual Report* for 1911 is now in the hands of the Smithsonian Institution and may be expected to appear during the coming summer. The Adams prize essay for 1910, Miss Louise F. Brown's *Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, is in the press and will be sent to subscribers during the present month.

The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held at the University of California on November 29 and 30. Professor A. B. Show of Stanford University was elected president and Mr. H. W. Edwards of the Oakland High School secretary and treasurer. Among the papers we note: Some Phases of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, by Professor Richard F. Scholz of the University of California; Notes on the Biography of Cardinal Schinner, by Professor Alvin Martin of Stanford University; the Organization of the Reign of Terror in France, by Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California; the Background of Alaskan History, by Professor Frank A. Golder of the State College of Washington; Party Groupings in the Twenty-Second Congress, by Professor Edgar E. Robinson of Stanford University; and Some Effects of Inertia of Public Opinion, by Professor Murray S. Wildman of the same university.

An organization called the American Historical Society has been incorporated under the laws of the state of New York and is doing business at 154 East 23rd Street, New York City. The form of the name is an unusual one, for a company which according to its own declaration is simply a publishing organization. Without wishing to intimate that the name was chosen with any view to being identified in the public mind with the American Historical Association, we think it right to state that the new organization has no connection with the latter.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons will issue this spring the *Journal of Jasper Dankers*, edited by Rev. B. B. James.

PERSONAL

Dr. James Gairdner, who had been an assistant keeper of the British public records for many years beginning in 1859, died on November 4, at the age of eighty-four years. He edited the *Memorials of Henry VII.*; the *Letters and Papers of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*; all but the first four volumes of the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*; the *Paston Letters*, and several volumes of the publications of the Camden Society. He was the author of a *Life of Richard III.*, of *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, and more recently of a three-volume work entitled *Lollardy and the Reformation in England, an Historical Survey*.

The Very Reverend George William Kitchin, who had been dean of Durham and warden of the University of Durham since 1894, died on October 13, at the age of eighty-five. He was appointed the first censor of non-collegiate students at Oxford in 1868 and dean of Winchester in 1883. Besides his well-known *History of France*, published in three volumes in 1873-1877, he was the author of numerous works in church history.

Dr. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron died in Bonn, on March 5, 1912, at the age of ninety-one years. He was the main editor of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and was also the author of numerous articles on German music and folksongs.

Just as the second volume of Mr. William F. Monypenny's *Life of Disraeli* appears there comes the news of the author's death in London, at the age of forty-six.

Julius Beloch has been called from Rome to succeed Ulrich Wilcken in the chair of ancient history in the University of Leipzig.

M. Thomas Homolle has been named director of the French School at Athens in succession to M. Holleaux.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes lectured at Oxford in October as the first holder of the lectureship on the History and Institutions of the United States of America, founded by the Delegates of the Common Fund with the intention that it shall be held by successive American scholars.

Senhor Dr. Manoel da Oliveira Lima of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, Brazilian minister to Belgium, gave a course of lectures at Stanford University in October on the History of Latin America, with especial reference to Brazil.

By means of a generous gift of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff to Cornell University, Professor Erich Marcks of Hamburg is to lecture there (in German) from February 10 to April 1 on the origin and growth of the German Empire. Attention will naturally be given especially to the period from 1860 to 1871, but the earlier and later periods, and the comparison of German with American constitutional growth, will also receive attention. By confusion between Mr. Alfred W. Pollard of the British Museum and Professor Albert F. Pollard of the University of London, our announcement of another course of lectures, to be given next spring at Cornell University, on the Goldwin Smith Foundation, was given a misleading form. It is the latter scholar who is to lecture there on the Place of Parliamentary Institutions in the Development of Civilization.

Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago is absent from the country on leave of absence from December to September.

Professor Ephraim D. Adams of Stanford University teaches at Yale University during the second half of the present academic year.

GENERAL

Persons intending to be present at the International Congress of Historical Studies to be held in London April 3 to 9, are requested to mention the fact to Dr. J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Those who desire to obtain programmes of the Congress may write to the same address.

The Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists will be held in Washington, D. C., in 1914, probably in September. The organizing committee have chosen Professor W. H. Holmes of the National Museum as president of the congress, Dr. Aleš Hrdlička as general secretary, and Mr. Clarence F. Norment as treasurer.

In 1897 the managing editor of this journal, then a professor in Brown University, began the practice of collecting from each professor of history who had charge of candidates for the doctor's degree a list of such students and of the titles of their dissertations. These lists were then circulated in typewritten form, in order that duplication might be avoided. At first confined to the titles in American history, the plan was afterward extended to cover all historical dissertations, whether undertaken under professors of history or in allied departments, and since 1902 the lists have been printed. Beginning however with the list of December 1912 they are henceforward to be printed in the *History Teachers' Magazine*, and those who desire this latest list are referred to the January number of that journal. Copies of most of the lists already printed can be obtained by application to J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Archivists and other persons interested in historical documents may like to know of a brief report on the use of photographic processes for copying, embraced in a Report of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, 62 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 293*.

The *History Teacher's Magazine* for December contains two interesting and valuable papers, the one by Dr. E. F. Henderson entitled *Illustrative Material on the French Revolution: What one can learn from it respecting the Revolution*, the other by Professor Ephraim Emerton on the *Teaching of Medieval History in the Schools*. Professor Emerton's paper was originally read before the New England History Teacher's Association in 1904.

A volume of *Studies in the History of Religions* (Macmillan, 1912, pp. 373), presented to Professor Crawford H. Toy of Harvard University by pupils, colleagues, and friends, upon occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, contains some sixteen valuable and interesting essays by some of the foremost American scholars in Oriental and other departments of the history of religion. The longest of these is an interesting paper on *English Witchcraft and James the First*, by Professor George L. Kittredge. Others are, *Buddhist and Christian Parallels: the Mythological*

Background, by Professor J. Estlin Carpenter of Manchester New College, Oxford; the Liver as the Seat of the Soul, by Professor Morris Jastrow; the Sikh Religion, by Professor Maurice Bloomfield; the Theological School at Nisibis, by Professor George F. Moore; Oriental Cults in Spain, by Professor Clifford H. Moore; and the Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code, by Professor David G. Lyon.

Recent historical issues in *Everyman's Library* (London, Dent; New York, Dutton) are, *Livy*; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*; and Crèvecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer*.

The latest issues of the *Historische Bibliothek*, published in connection with the *Historische Zeitschrift*, are: Band 29, *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat*, by Hans Spangenberg; Band 30, *Prinz Moritz von Dessau im Siebenjährigen Kriege*, by Dr. Max Preitz; Band 31, *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù*, by Dr. Eduard Wilhelm Mayer; and Band 32, *Der Uebergang des Fürstentums Ansbach an Bayern*, by Fritz Tarrasch.

Recent additions to the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* (Putnam) include: *Life in the Medieval University*, by R. S. Rait; *The Troubadours*, by H. J. Chaytor; and *Goethe and the Twentieth Century*, by J. G. Robertson.

The Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Edward Heawood, has contributed to the *Cambridge Geographical Series* a volume entitled *A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press).

General reviews of recent publications in special fields have appeared in the *Revue Historique*. In the September number, H. Hauser presented such a review for modern French history; P. Vigener, for medieval German history; and C. Bussemaker, for the history of the Low Countries. In the November number, L. Bréhier reviewed books of Byzantine history; Éd. Driault, contemporary French history; and A. O. Meyer, modern German history. To the October number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, similar reviews for Greek and Roman history are furnished by M. Besnier; for the history of eastern France by L. Alloing; and for the history of Germany by E. Goldsilber. Paul Boissonnade contributes to the June number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* a review of the literature on the economic history of medieval Christian Spain.

Professors H. D. Foster and S. B. Fay of Dartmouth College have published a fourth edition of their *Syllabus of European History, 378-1900*. The material is arranged in forty-four topics for the period to 1600 and forty-five topics for the period since that date. The syllabus is intended for the History I. course. Both in selection and arrangement of topics and in the bibliographical references the book is admirably calculated for its purpose (Hanover, N. H., 1912, pp. 95).

Prepared with an obvious bias in favor of the contemporary conditions and interests is a *Syllabus of Modern History*, intended for the use of students in History A in Columbia University, by Professors Carlton Hayes and R. L. Schuyler (New York, Columbia University, 1912, pp. 45). The twenty-two topics are not limited to European History but include as well American and colonial affairs.

W. E. Biermann is the editor of *Volkswirtschaftliche und Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, a collection of monographs, published in honor of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Wilhelm Stieda of the University of Leipzig (Leipzig, Veit, 1912, pp. iii, 352).

In the series, *Studies in Theology*, published by Messrs. Scribner, the latest volume to appear is Professor Edward C. Moore's *An Outline of the History of Christian Thought since Kant*.

It is announced that Ginn and Company will shortly publish a work entitled *History as Past Ethics*, by Professor P. V. N. Myers.

ANCIENT HISTORY

From among the various works on ancient Egypt which have appeared recently, a few may be mentioned as possessing an historical as well as an archaeological interest. Hermann Junker's *Bericht über die Grabungen . . . in Turah* (in 1909-1910) describes the tombs explored at Turah and ascribes them to the earliest dynasties and even to the time of Scorpion, the last Pharaoh of Upper Egypt preceding Menes (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. vii, 99, with 51 plates). Maspero in reviewing the book (*Revue Critique*, September 21) takes issue on the subject of Scorpion. Raymond Weill publishes, translates, and discusses the royal decrees, found at Koptos by the French in 1910-1911, which date from the early empire, in *Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (Paris, Geuthner, 1912, pp. 111, and 12 plates). The latest fascicle of Henri Gauthier's *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte, Recueil de Titres et de Protocoles Royaux* (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie) finishes with the Eighteenth Dynasty.

A French edition of Professor Flinders Petrie's *Arts and Crafts in Egypt*, translated by M. Jean Capart, curator of Egyptian antiquities at the Royal Museum of Brussels, has been published by Messrs. Vromant of Brussels. The same house has also published the second series of M. Capart's *Les Débuts de l'Art en Égypte*, the first volume of which appeared in 1909.

Volume II. of the new series of *Publications* of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum has appeared. This consists of texts of the business documents of the Murashu Sons, of Nippur, dated in the reign of Darius II., and documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur, dated in the reigns of Cassite rulers. Both parts of

the volume are by Professor Albert T. Clay. Meanwhile Harvard University is issuing *Sumerian Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, the product of the field-work of Professor Reisner.

Two volumes of historical interest are announced by the Columbia University Press, *Tiglath Pileser III.*, by Mr. Abraham S. Anspacher, and *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, lectures delivered at the university last spring by Sir Gilbert Murray.

The second volume of the new edition of R. Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Gotha, Perthes) is out, covering the period from the death of Joshua to the Exile.

Miss Erma Eloise Cole, in an interesting pamphlet, *The Samos of Herodotus* (New Haven, the author), marshals with much learning and skill those internal evidences that support the tradition of the historian's residence in the island named.

Volume IV. of Professor Otto Seeck's important work, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, appeared in 1911 from the press of Siemenroth (Berlin).

In that great literary undertaking, the *Loeb Classical Library* (Macmillan)—"Greek and Latin texts with parallel English translations of the highest attainable quality"—provision has been made for several historical works. Among these are, Appian, in Mr. Horace White's translation; Aristotle's *Politics* and the *Athenian Constitution*, translated by Professor Edward Capps; Dio Cassius, Pausanias, and Plutarch's *Lives*, translated by Professor Bernadotte Perrin; Strabo, translated by Professor J. R. S. Sterrett; Thucydides, Caesar's *Gaulic War*, and the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus.

Antike Schlachtfelder, Bausteine zu einer Antiken Kriegsgeschichte, is a careful study based upon visits to the various battlefields described. To the third volume, J. Kromayer contributes the part on Italy, and G. Veith the part on Africa (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912, pp. xv, 935). The first part of *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique et l'Occupation Militaire de l'Afrique sous les Empereurs* by René Cagnat is an elaborate study published by the Ministry of Public Instruction (Paris, Leroux).

In the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung*, Professor H. Dragendorff has published a manual on *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 124) which is a marvel of comprehensiveness and condensation.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Hrozný, *Die ältesten Dynastien Babylonien* (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVI.); G. Roeder, *Die Geschichte Nubiens und des Sudans* (Klio, XII. 1); A. Reinach, *Atthis, les Origines de l'État Athénien*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); H. Swoboda, *Studien zu den Griechischen Bünden*, III. *Die Städte im Achäischen Bunde* (Klio, XII. 1); L. Holzapfel, *Zur Römischen Chronologie* (ibid.); E. Täubler, *Camillus*

und Sulla, zur Entstehung der Camilluslegende (*ibid.*, 2); H. Delbrück, *Die Schlacht bei Cannä* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CLX. 3); A. von Premerstein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus*, II. *Seezüge der Nordpontusvölker und der Mauren, der Einfall der Kostoboken* (*Klio*, XII.); H. Delehaye, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The University Press, at the University of the South, has just published a *Manual of Early Ecclesiastical History*, to 476 A. D. (pp. 259), by Dr. Charles L. Wells, till lately lecturer in history at McGill University and formerly professor of ecclesiastical history in the Seabury Divinity School; it appears to be prepared with much learning, fairness, and good sense, and to be well adapted to the uses of a handbook.

Marcel Laurent, professor of the history of art in the University of Liège, has published a two-volume work on *L'Art Chrétien Primitif*, which runs to the early Byzantine period represented at Ravenna (Brussels, Vromant). The work is fully illustrated. Another volume from the same publishing house is on *L'Origine de la Basilique Latine* by Professor R. Lemaire, of the University of Louvain.

The Catholic University of America has taken over the publication of the great Paris collection, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, of which 75 volumes have already appeared. This enterprise will hereafter be conducted by the university in co-operation with that of Louvain and is intended finally to embrace all the important Christian writings in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

J. Dahlmann, S. J., attempts to prove in *Die Thomaslegende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum Fernen Osten im Lichte der Indischen Altertumskunde* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. iv, 174) the historicity of the visit of St. Thomas to India. Though he endeavors to establish eight theses in favor of his theory, he has not succeeded in removing doubts upon the subject.

Professor E.-Ch. Babut of Montpellier has brought out (Paris, Champion, n. d., pp. 320) a critical work on *Saint Martin de Tours* which deserves the attention of all serious scholars of the period involved, especially for its close examination of Sulpicius Severus.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A recent valuable scientific contribution to palaeography, by Adriano Cappelli, is best described by its lengthy title. It is the second edition of his *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum, Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane, usate nelle Carte e Codice specialmente de Medio Evo riprodotte con oltre 14,000 Segni incisi, con l'aggiunta di uno studio sulla Brachigrafia Medioevale, un Prontuario di Sigle Epigrafiche, l'antica Numera-*

zione romana ed arabica, ed i Segni indicanti Monete, Pesi, Misure, etc. (Milan, Hoepli, 1912, pp. lxviii, 513). The volume will in large measure replace the earlier works of Cagnat and Chassant.

The Oriental character of the legislative work of Justinian and the fate and influence of classical institutions in western Europe are discussed in *Études Historiques sur le Droit de Justinien*, by P. Collinet (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1912, pp. xxxii, 338).

The Prince of Teano, who has been slowly advancing the publication of *Annali del Islam*, is to publish an outline of Mohammedan history from 622 to 1522, to be called *Cronografia Islamica*, and to appear both in Italian and in French. This will contain the events of each year, authorities, and tables of dynasties and pedigrees.

The April and July numbers of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* contain brief accounts of the various celebrations of the seventh centenary of St. Clare, with lists of the historical papers read. The same numbers also contain considerable other material, original and bibliographical, relating to St. Clare and her order.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Bastgen, *Das Capitulare Karls des Grossen über die Bilder oder die sogenannten Libri Carolini*, III. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); E. Lesne, *La Dime des Biens Ecclésiastiques aux IX^e et X^e Siècles* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); E. Perels, *Die Briefe Papst Nikolaus' I.*, I. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); O. Blaul, *Studien zum Register Gregors VII.* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); A. Hofmeister, *Studien über Otto von Freising*, II. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); W. Goetz, *Das Wieder-aufleben des Römischen Rechtes im Zwölften Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 1); J. Haller, *Pius II.: ein Papst der Renaissance* (Deutsche Rundschau, November); R. Cessi, *La Contesa fra Giorgio da Trebisonda, Poggio Bracciolini, e Giovanni Aurispa durante il Pontificato di Niccolò V.* (Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale, IX. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

"Geschichte der Politischen Kultur, Neuzeit", and "Philosophie und Geistesleben im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert" are the titles of the Literaturberichte in the recent number of the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (X. 1), furnished by Dr. Adolf Rapp and Dr. Gunther Jacoby respectively. The first article deals almost exclusively with matter since 1770. A recent volume on political theory is by E. Levi-Malvano and entitled *Montesquieu e Machiavelli* (Paris, Champion, pp. 152).

Messrs. Putnam announce *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli*, edited by the late Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson. Volume I., extending from 1510 to 1522, has just appeared.

Dr. F. Lauchert's *Die Italienischen Literarischen Gegner Luthers* is published as the eighth volume of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, edited by L. von Pastor (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. xvi, 714). It is rich in biographical and bibliographical data concerning no less than forty-six defenders of Catholicism against Luther and is of great value for the knowledge of the Catholic side of the controversy.

No student of the history of the Reformation, or indeed of the general history of the sixteenth century, needs to be told of the importance to his work of the correspondence of Heinrich Bullinger. Pastor, theologian, statesman, diplomatist, historian, an observer of the religious struggle from its very outbreak, and for more than forty years (1531-1575) as head of the church of Zürich the director of the religious policy of Swiss Protestantism and the adviser or arbiter of half of Protestant Europe, perhaps no man of his time, not even Luther, Calvin, or Melancthon, had such opportunity for knowledge of affairs. And throughout all these years he was a tireless writer of letters, numbering among his correspondents nearly every man of note in the Protestant world. Their communications he carefully docketed and filed away, keeping abstracts of his own letters as well; and his city has known how to prize and to preserve this wealth of record. Some fragments of it have of course seen the light in various collections—in the published works of the English reformers, of Melancthon, of Calvin, of Vadian and the Blaurers—and during the last years his correspondence with the Graubündner has been given to the press. It is the admirable work done on this last collection by its editor, Dr. Traugott Schiess, archivist at St. Gall, that has forced upon Swiss scholars the conviction that now is the time for the publication of the whole body of Bullinger's correspondence. In June Dr. Schiess was commissioned by them to enter on the work of gathering the materials, scattered throughout the Christian world, and of preparing the whole for the printer. It is hoped that his task may be completed by the time (say in 1919) that the last volume of Zwingli's works, now in process of publication in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, is off the press, and that perhaps the results of his labors may find a place in the same great series. It will be necessary first, however, to ensure the financial basis of the enterprise. From twenty to thirty volumes will doubtless be required, and generous support will be needed from libraries and scholars throughout the world. It is earnestly to be hoped that those of America will not lag behind their transatlantic neighbors.

A two-volume life of St. Francis Xavier has been written by A. Brou (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. xvi, 446, 488). The first volume deals with his life from 1506 to 1548, and the second volume carries the narrative through the remaining four years.

The Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs has published the first volume (to 1722) of *Oesterreichische Staatsverträge, Nieder-*

lande, edited by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1912, pp. xv, 648).

Theodor Weicher, of Leipzig, the publisher of Martens's *Recueil de Traités*, has announced the intention of reprinting such volumes as are out of print in order to be able to supply complete sets of the publication.

Mr. F. Loraine Petre adds to his series of Napoleonic volumes, already mentioned in these pages, *Napoleon's last Campaign in Germany, 1813* (New York, John Lane Company).

Col. Charles Ross is the author of a history of the Russo-Japanese War, a part of Macmillan's military text-book series. The first volume is now published and proves excellent reading for both the professional and the non-professional reader.

Students who turn to *The Holy War in Tripoli*, by G. F. Abbott (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company; London, Edward Arnold, 1912, pp. 333), for a history of the Turkish-Italian War will be disappointed. There is here no account of events leading up to the war, no study of diplomatic and military policies at Rome or Constantinople, and no general view of operations in the field. It is rather a description, aided by most interesting illustrations, of those features of life in an Arab camp which seem to a European picturesque. Mr. Abbott's sympathies are frankly with the Turks.

Of other volumes on the recent war in Tripoli, the following may be singled out for mention: T. Barclay, *The Turco-Italian War and its Problems* (London, Constable, 1912, pp. 274); G. Bevione, *Come siamo andati a Tripoli* (Turin, Bocca, 1912, pp. 428); G. Castellini, *Nelle Trincee di Tripoli* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912, pp. 225); C. Causa, *La Guerra Italo-Turca e la Conquista della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica* (Florence, Salani, 1912, pp. 319); A. Chierici, *A Tripoli d' Italia, Diario di un Corrispondente di Guerra* (Pistoia, Simonti, 1912, pp. 312).

Present-day history has received an interesting addition in R. Devereux's *Aspects of Algeria: Historical, Political, Colonial* (Dent).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Renaudet, *Érasme, sa Vie et son Oeuvre jusqu'en 1517, d'après sa Correspondance*, I. (Revue Historique, November); W. Mummenhoff, *Die ältesten Poststrassen zwischen Rom und Deutschland und ihre Stationen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Briefdienstes im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); J. Strieder, *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); L. von Pastor, *Allgemeine Dekrete der Römischen Inquisition aus den Jahren 1555-1597, nach dem Notariatsprotokoll des S. Ufficio zum erstenmale veröffentlicht* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); H. Van Houtte, *La Législation Annonaire des Pays-Bas à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime et la Disette de 1789 en France* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-

und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1, 3); F. E. Sanglé-Ferrière, *Souvenirs de l'Expédition d'Égypte, avec Introduction et Notes par Léon Mirot* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); Commandant d'Osia, *La Campagne de 1813* (Journal des Sciences Militaires, June 15, July 15, August 15); A. Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November); F. Frahm, *Biarritz* [1865] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); E. Marx, *Einige Randglossen zum 12. und 13. Juli 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIX. 3); General Palat, *Le Rôle du Dixième Corps [Prussian] au 16 Août 1870* (Journal des Sciences Militaires, August 1); P. Lehautcourt, *Le Rôle du Dixième Corps au 16 Août 1870* (*ibid.*, August 15, September 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records* has now appeared in a blue-book of 53 pages, accompanied by a body of appendices constituting volume I., part 2 (pp. 168), and a collection of minutes of evidence, taken by the Commission, volume I., part 3 (pp. 215). The Commission, of which Sir Frederick Pollock is chairman, is an able one and has made thoroughgoing investigations. The present report covers merely the Public Record Office and the Land Revenue Record Office. A second report will deal with the archives of the public departments and a third with local records of a public nature. The present report is a rich mine of knowledge respecting the history, contents, and administration of the Public Record Office. The Commission makes many useful recommendations toward modernizing and making more scientific the practices of the Record Office, toward extending and improving its staff, and toward providing a permanent Commission for its government and a permanent board of historical scholars to supervise its publications. The appendices and the minutes of evidence present an extraordinary mass of interesting detail for the student of English and colonial history, and, different as our archive problems are from those of England, there are many pages in the volume which deserve the attention and consideration of officials and users of American archives. The *Report* is summarized in the *Athenaeum* of October 5.

For the future all British government publications, blue-books, consular reports, and parliamentary papers issued by H. M. Stationery Office can be obtained through any of the agencies of Mr. Fisher Unwin.

The Second Supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been completed in three volumes including some 1500 brief notices.

A remarkable piece of condensation, which escapes both dullness and unfortunate omissions, is Professor Edward Jenks's *A Short History of English Law*, published by Little, Brown, and Company.

The list of contributors, which includes such names as Dr. James Gairdner, Dr. William Hunt, Professor Oman, and Dr. R. L. Poole, insures the historical value of the *Dictionary of English Church History*, edited by Canon S. L. Ollard and Mr. Gordon Crosse, and published by Mowbray and Company.

The Clarendon Press has issued, in four handsome volumes, accurate texts of *Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Colleges and Halls therein, and the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster*, with scholarly annotations by Mr. Lionel Lancelot Shadwell of New College. The texts extend from 37 Edward III. to 2 George II., and are replete with interest for the student of the history of universities.

For the general reader Mr. F. J. Snell's *The Age of Alfred, 664-1154*, is most attractive and readable, though students of this period will find that it does not represent the authoritative scholarship of other volumes in the series of *Handbooks of English Literature*, issued by Messrs. Bell under the general editorship of Professor Hales.

The Macmillan Company has issued this autumn *The Minority of Henry III.*, by Miss Kate Norgate.

As a memorial to Dean James Barr Ames, the Ames Foundation of Harvard University has arranged for the publication of the *Year Books of Richard II.* The first of these volumes to be issued, covering the cases of the year 1388, is now in press.

An impartial statement of the English rule in Ireland to the time of Elizabeth is given by Mr. Philip Wilson in *The Beginnings of Modern Ireland*, published by Maunsell and Company.

A valuable study of social conditions in England is R. H. Tawney's *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (Longmans), the conclusions developed strengthening those of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond in *The Village Labourer, 1760-1832*.

The University of Pennsylvania is publishing a series of *Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period*, embracing, thus far, *English Trade in the Baltic Sea during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Miss Neva R. Deardorff, *The Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company*, by A. J. Gerson, and *English Trading Expeditions into Asia under the Authority of the Muscovy Company*, by E. V. C. Vaughn.

The Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, 1613-1662, by Rev. Dr. J. Willcock, is to be published shortly.

E. K. Chatterton's *King's Cutters and Smugglers, 1700-1855* (Allen), deals with the efforts of the government to crush smuggling, through administrative changes until the establishment of the Coast Guard Service. The work is based on official records.

Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition, by D. A. Winstanley (Cambridge University Press), is the result of much study at the British Museum and the Public Record Office.

A new edition of Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*, in two volumes and containing some important additions, has been issued by Macmillan and Company.

Under the title *The Taylor Papers* Messrs. Longmans are publishing material left behind him by Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor (1775-1839), private secretary to Lord Grenville, the Duke of York, George III., and William IV.

A volume of letters which contain much matter of historical interest written most entertainingly is the *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870*, edited by her great-granddaughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hugh Wyndham, and published by Murray.

An interesting essay based upon Mr. Wilfrid Ward's life of Newman is *Newman Catholique d'après des Documents Nouveaux*, by P. Thureau-Dangin (Paris, Plon, 1912, pp. vii, 245).

Longmans, Green, and Company announce the publication of a collection of extracts from the diary of Queen Victoria, 1832-1840, under the title *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*. The volume is edited by Viscount Esher.

Major John Hall's *England and the Orleans Monarchy* (London, Smith and Elder) is an important contribution to the knowledge of diplomatic history, especially of the Turco-Egyptian question and that of the Spanish Marriages.

The chief interest pertaining to *The Life of Sir Howard Vincent*, by S. H. Jeyes and F. D. How, lies in the connection of the subject of the biography with the passage through Parliament of many reform measures.

The list of recently published biographies of modern Englishmen is increased by *The Life of Henry Hartley Fowler, First Viscount Wolverhampton*, by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. R. Hamilton (Hutchinson).

Two volumes of reminiscences, interesting though of slight historical value, are *The House of Commons from Within, and Other Memories*, by Dr. Robert Farquharson (Williams and Norgate), and *Letters and Character Sketches from the House of Commons*, by the late Sir Richard Temple, edited by his son Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Murray).

Dr. Adolf Rein, now an assistant in the history department of Syracuse University, is the author of a biography, or rather appreciation, of *Sir John Robert Seeley* (Langensalza, Beyer, 1912, pp. xii, 112). Successive chapters consider Seeley as historian, as political thinker and teacher, and as a man. A bibliography of Seeley's publications concludes the pamphlet.

Gloucestershire, by W. H. Weston, has been added to the *Oxford County Histories* published by the Oxford University Press.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls, Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls*, preserved in the Public Record Office, A. D. 1277-1326; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vol. III., Edward I.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Brownbill, *The Tribal Hidage* (English Historical Review, October); H. L. Cannon, *The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk* (*ibid.*); Preserved Smith, *German Opinion of the Divorce of Henry VIII.* (*ibid.*); G. A. Sinclair, *The Scottish Progress of James VI.* (Scottish Historical Review, October); The Earl of Cassillis, *The Seafeld Correspondence* (*ibid.*); H. W. V. Temperley, *Inner and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council, 1679-1783* (English Historical Review, October); R. W. Twigge, *Jacobite Papers at Avignon* (Scottish Historical Review, October); J. H. Rose, *Burke, Windham, and Pitt* (English Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

Armoricaens et Bretons by Albert Travers (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. vi, 163) is a reprint of articles previously published in the *Revue de Bretagne*, criticizing the writings of MM. Loth and La Borderie. M. Travers shows the weakness of the foundations for the theory of a migration from Britain to Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries, but his efforts to establish a counter-thesis afford little proof. It is apparent that there is at present available but little material of real worth for the solution of the vexed problem.

Paul Allard is the author of a small volume entitled *Les Origines du Servage en France* (Paris, Lecoffre).

Histoire de l'Autorité Royale dans le Comté de Nivernais, by L. Despois (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912, pp. 529), is not merely a thesis in legal history but a really well-done history of the county of Nivernais from 990 to 1790. Frantz Funck-Brentano sketches the powers and position of the king in *L'Ancienne France, le Roi* (Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. 400). E. Lefèvre is the author of *Les Avocats du Roi depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, A. Rousseau, 1912, pp. 298).

Instrucions et Enseignemens, Style de Procéder d'une Justice Seigneuriale Normande, 1386-90 (Caen, Jouan, 1912, pp. 78), contains a late fourteenth-century text of instructions to a justice, edited by G. Besnier and R. Génestal with an introduction and notes. It is the second of a series of texts published under the title *Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit Normand* by the law faculty of the University of Caen.

T. de Cauzons, who published three years ago the first volume of a *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, has published a second volume which deals with the inquisitorial procedure (Paris, Bloud, 1912, pp. xlv, 422).

Le Rôle Politique du Cardinal de Bourbon (Charles X.), 1523-1500, is the subject of a study, by E. Saulnier (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 324), which includes much material from various archives relating to the League and to the Bourbon family. Special attention is given to the period of the Wars of Religion in H. Lehr's *La Réforme et les Églises Réformées dans le Département actuel d'Eure-et-Loir, 1523-1911* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1912, pp. vi, 595). The volume is very well done, and contains a map showing all the Reformed churches in the department.

The Love Affairs of the Condés, 1530-1740, by H. Noel Williams (Scribners), offers more of value to the student of history than the title would suggest.

L. N. Prunel's *Sébastien Zamet, Évêque-Duc de Langres, pair de France, 1588-1655* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xvi, 569), is important for the religious history of France in the seventeenth century, especially for the rise of Jansenism. M. Prunel has also edited the *Lettres Spirituelles* of Zamet (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xxxiii, 661).

M. Albert Chamberland has suspended the publication of the *Revue Henri IV.*, which he founded in 1905; and will hereafter contribute such materials as he may still have in hand to the review, *Documents d'Histoire*, edited by Eugène Griselle.

Colbert et Seignelay contre la Religion Réformée, by E. Guitard (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. 149), is an impartial account based upon extensive researches in the archives.

Continuing the study which he published in 1896 on French commerce in the Levant in the seventeenth century, M. Masson has published *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1911, pp. xii, 678).

Under the title *Madagascar, 1638-1894. Établissements des Français dans l'Île* (Paris, Fournier, 1912, pp. vii, 264), M. de Villars has given a brief account of French activities in Madagascar.

Life of the Marquise de la Rochejaquelein (Longmans) by Mrs. Maxwell Scott is a sympathetic treatment of the Vendean revolt.

Robert Burnand is the author of a history of *L'Hôtel Royal des Invalides, 1670-1789* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912).

Gaston May has made an interesting study of the language question in *La Lutte pour le Français en Lorraine avant 1870* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. 214). The author has taken the year 1737 as his point of departure. The volume forms the first fascicle of the twenty-sixth year of the *Annales de l'Est*.

Jean Loutchisky, honorary professor in the University of Kiev and member of the Duma, is the author of *La Propriété Paysanne en France à la Veille de la Révolution, principalement en Limousin* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 295). The book contains many statistical tables, and

is the result of the most painstaking investigations, and embodies much very interesting information. Léon Dutil's *État Économique du Languedoc à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Hachette, 1911, pp. 914) is another volume based upon long and careful researches, but covering a wider field of economic and social problems for one of the largest provinces of the old monarchy. A less thorough study of the same problem in the territories of the King of Sardinia, just beyond the French frontier, is Vermale's *Les Classes Rurales en Savoie au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1911, pp. 327).

Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution, by Dr. Ernest F. Henderson, is announced by Messrs. Putnam.

Among the recent constitutional studies relating to the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods are: P. Venault de Lardinière's *Le Droit Électoral pendant la Révolution Française* (Poitiers, Imprimerie du Courrier de la Vienne, 1912, pp. 320), and H. Trouillard's *Le Sénat Conservateur du Consulat et du Premier Empire, ses Attributions et son Rôle* (Mayenne, Colin, 1912, pp. 156).

Volumes of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* are appearing with monotonous frequency. The seven following ones are the latest to be received. Documents relating to the question of food supply in Toulouse are edited by J. Adher, and in the district of Chaumont by C. Lorain. P. Moulin has edited a fourth volume of documents concerning the sales of national property in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône; and A. Guillou and A. Rebillon those for the districts of Rennes and Bain. It would require not much more than one per cent. of the 2500 pages to recite what little there is of real historical value in these four volumes, though the antiquary or the genealogist might find a little more. On the other hand the volumes of the *Cahiers de Doléances* are admirably edited and rich in useful materials. The cahiers for the bailliage of Châtillon-sur-Marne are edited by G. Laurent; those for the bishoprics of Saint-Malo and Saint-Brieuc by H. Sée and A. Lesort; and those for the bailliages of Troyes and Bar-sur-Seine by J. J. Vernier. (Paris, Leroux, 1911-1912.)

M. Louis Tuetey has edited the first of two volumes containing the *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission Temporaire des Arts* (Paris, Leroux, 1912) for the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*. The Commission was an outgrowth of the committee of public instruction of the Convention, and so the publication is an appendix to the *Procès-Verbaux* of that committee which were edited by the late J. Guillaume. M. Tuetey has written an introduction outlining the history of the Commission, has given biographical sketches of its members, and has fully annotated the documents. The Commission was composed of accredited scientists and artists, and rendered valuable services in the

conservation of objects and materials of scientific and artistic value. Its wisdom and zeal combated earnestly the ignorance and fanaticism of the "sans-culottes".

A life of General Anselme, the conqueror of Nice in 1792, has been written by Captain Reboulet (Apt, Mistral, 1912, pp. 224).

Notes et Souvenirs inédits de Prieur de la Marne, edited by Gustave Laurent, from the manuscript in the city library of Reims, forms the first volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire*, edited by Charles Vellay (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. 170).

J. Gros has given an excellent critical estimate of the work and influence of Lakanal and an account of his life in *Lakanal et l'Éducation Nationale* (Paris, André, 1912).

A *Bibliographie d'Articles de Périodiques concernant la Bretagne, 1798-1900*, has been compiled by J. Coupel (Rennes, Plihon and Hommay, 1911, pp. 295). More than 4700 articles are listed under fourteen rubrics. Since 1900 the *Annales de Bretagne* has annually published a "Bibliographie Bretonne".

F. M. Kircheisen contributes to the September and November numbers of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* a "Bibliographie Napoléonienne de l'Année 1911", in continuation of his Napoleonic bibliography. The September number contains a review of the recent literature on Napoleon's relations with Switzerland by M. Dunan, and on the military history by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mayer; and in the November number E. Driault reviews the recent books on the foreign relations of the empire. An unpublished journal for October, 1812, by Colonel Béchaud of the Army of Portugal is printed in the November number. Roger Peyre contributes to the September number a comprehensive record of the events in the world of art in 1812.

The Personality of Napoleon, by Dr. J. Holland Rose (Putnam), consists of the Lowell Lectures delivered in Boston in February and March, 1912.

An *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon I^{er}*, compiled by Albert Schuermans, is published with a preface by the late Henry Houssaye, as the sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Société des Études Historiques*. Alexander von Peez died before completing his *Englands Vorherrschaft, aus der Zeit der Kontinentalsperre*, and the work has been completed and published by Paul Dehn (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1912, pp. xx, 381). The author sets forth England's leadership in the coalitions against France. An excellent contribution to the history of the campaign of 1812 is P. Holzhausen's *Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812, Leben und Leiden auf der Moskauer Heerfahrt* (Berlin, Morawe and Scheffelt, 1912).

Ernest d'Hauterive has issued a second volume of *La Police Secrète du Premier Empire* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. 626), covering the years 1805 and 1806. The volume is made up of the daily bulletins prepared by Fouché for the Emperor, and is printed from the originals in the National Archives. There is an index covering the first two volumes.

Robert Pimienta has based *La Propagande Bonapartiste en 1848* upon wide and minute investigations (Paris, Cornély, 1911, pp. 130).

General Derrécagaix is the author of a life of Marshal Pélissier (Paris, Chapelot, pp. viii, 635).

The sixth volume of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871, Recueil de Documents publié par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* (Paris, Ficker, 1912), covers from March 1 to August 31, 1865, and so includes the negotiations which ended in the Convention of Gastein of August 14. It is quite impossible to determine either the value or the motive for these publications, for the frequent omissions may be irrelevant materials but the natural suspicion is that the meat is withheld and only the shucks given. A single illustration will suffice: serial numbers 30 to 123 of the correspondence of the Berlin embassy (Benedetti and Lefebvre de Béhaine) belong to this period, but twenty-six of them are not published, and in one case the gap is a fortnight. The anonymous editor seems to have done his work well with such materials as he was allowed to use. The publication is under the direction of MM. A. Aulard, E. Bourgeois, and J. Reinach. The small octavo format is vastly superior to the large octavo used in the *Documents Inédits*, and its adoption for the latter series would be a welcome change.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Audouin, *Sur l'Armée Royale au Temps de Philippe-Auguste*, I. (Le Moyen Âge, July); M. Jusselin, *Comment la France se préparait à la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, May); A. Thomas, *Un Émigré Normand au Temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, Maître Robert Masselin (Annales du Midi, October); F. Aubert, *Recherches sur l'Organisation du Parlement de Paris au Seizième Siècle, 1515-1589* (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, XXXVI. 1); K. Glaser, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Politischen Litteratur Frankreichs in der Zweiten Hälfte des Sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, III. Die Politischen Theorien (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Litteratur, XXXIX. 5); S. Canal, *Les Origines de l'Intendance de Bretagne* (Annales de Bretagne, July, November, 1911, January, April, July, 1912); M. Liber, *Les Juifs et la Convocation des États-Généraux, 1789* (Revue des Études Juives, April, July); J. Letacounoux, *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Comité des Députés extraordinaires des Manufactures et du Commerce de France, 1789-1791* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, September-October); M. Rouff, *Le Peuple Ouvrier de Paris aux Journées du 30 Juin et du 30*

AOût 1789, I. (La Révolution Française, November); F. Braesch, *Essai de Statistique de la Population Ouvrière de Paris vers 1791* (*ibid.*, October); J. Durieux, *Bonaparte au Pont d'Arcole* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

F. Gabotto, professor in the University of Genoa, has published the first two volumes of a monumental *Storia dell' Italia Occidentale nel Medio Evo*, 395-1313, which bring the account down to 568.

Among the fall announcements of Messrs. Putnam is a study entitled *Roger of Sicily, and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016-1154*, by Mr. Edmund Curtis.

Italy in the Thirteenth Century, by Henry D. Sedgwick, in two volumes, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

In 1866-1874 the late Cav. F. Trinchera published in three volumes, under the title *Codice Aragonese*, the registers of King Ferdinand I. of Naples for the periods 1467-1468, 1490-1494. Now, in a volume entitled *Le Codice Aragonese* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. cxlviii, 524), Dr. A. A. Messer of the University of Dijon publishes from a Paris manuscript the full text of the register of that monarch from 1458 to 1460, with a learned introduction giving a full history of his court and chancery, of his humanist chancellor Giovanni Pontano, and of the manuscripts involved.

A new life of the notable Italian humanist and cardinal, the bishop of Carpentras, has been written by S. Ritter. The title is *Un Umanista Teologo, Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-1547* (Rome, Ferrari, 1912, pp. vii, 184).

Signor Cardona has added another chapter to the history of the reign of Victor Amadeus II. in Sicily by his *Catania e Siracusa dal 1713 al 1720* (Catania, Giannotta, 1912, pp. 81). The abundant foot-notes testify to the careful researches of the author.

The fifth volume of the *Bibliografia Generale di Roma*, prepared by Emilio Calvi, covers the Risorgimento from 1789 to 1846 (Rome, Loescher, 1912).

Among the recent publications on the Risorgimento have been M. Mazziotti, *La Reazione Borbonica nel Regno di Napoli* (Rome, Alighieri, 1912, pp. xvi, 445); F. Guardione, *La Sicilia nella Rigenerazione Politica d'Italia, 1795-1860* (Palermo, Reber, 1912, pp. vii, 688); and G. Bandi, *I Mille, da Genova a Capua* (Florence, Salani, 1912, pp. 394).

The life of Cavour, with special reference to his youth, which quite naturally has not received the same degree of attention as has his later life, forms the theme of *La Giovinezza del Conte di Cavour: Saggi Storici secondo Lettere e Documenti inediti* (Turin, Broca, 1912, 2 vols.), by Francesco Ruffini.

United Italy, by F. M. Underwood, deals with Italy since 1870 in a way calculated to give the reader a satisfactory understanding of present-day conditions.

A good, though not exhaustive, study of the social history of the reign of Charles II. is *España en Tiempo de Carlos II. el Hechizado*, by J. Juderías (Madrid, Tipografía de la *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, 1912). Another recent study of the internal affairs during the reign is *Carlos II. y su Corte*, by G. Maura Gamago (vol. I., 1661-1669, Madrid, Beltrán, 1911, pp. 655).

Contemporary events and conditions, including the causes of the recent revolution, are discussed in A. Marvaud's *Le Portugal et ses Colonies* (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 335).

The long-belated concluding number of volume VIII. (1910) of the *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* has just appeared. Hereafter the *Arquivo* will not appear in numbers but in volumes. The present number contains a list of recent works on Portuguese history.

A Portuguese Society of Historical Studies, founded in 1911, issued in January, 1912, the first number of a quarterly *Revista de Historia* (Lisbon, Teixeira).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Zippel, *Documenti per la Storia del Castel Sant' Angelo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXV. 1); H. Kalbfuss, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Reichsgeschichte Oberitaliens*, I. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV. 1); F. Schneider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. und Manfreds* (*ibid.*); P. Boissonnade, *Les Études relatives à l'Histoire Economique de l'Espagne et leurs Résultats* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); P. Matter, *Les Origines des Cavour*, II. (Revue Historique, November, December).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The third section of the *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, edited by Aloys Meister (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912), contains H. Grotefend's *Abriss der Chronologie des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, and the fourth, T. Ilgen's *Sphragistik*, E. Gritzner's *Heraldik*, and F. Friedensburg's *Deutsche Münzgeschichte*. The articles contain a wealth of useful material admirably arranged in a small space.

A dozen recent publications concerning local German archives are reviewed and much useful information is summarized in the article, *Übersicht über neuere Archivlitteratur*, by W. Lippert, in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 2.

A notable contribution to German economic history is A. Dopsch's *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit, vornehmlich in Deutschland* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1912, pp. x, 374).

Several attempts have been made recently to determine the historical background and significance of the *Nibelungenlied*, which have no doubt yielded considerable incontestable results, including many identifications of geographical localities. Some writers, for example A. Beneke, in his *Siegfrid ist Armin!* (Dortmund, Ruhfus, 1911, pp. 85) have endeavored to revive the effort to identify Siegfried with Arminius, but their arguments have not received general acceptance.

Count Lütow expects to have ready for the press this spring a history of the Hussite Wars, written in English.

The volume, *Deutsche Geschichte zur Zeit Maximilians I., 1486-1519* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1912), by K. Kaser, completes the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte* which has long been in process of publication under the editorship of Professor von Zwiédineck-Südenhorst.

A fifth and enlarged edition of Koser's *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen* has appeared (Stuttgart, Cotta).

Several studies have recently appeared on the Napoleonic period in Germany, among which may be cited: A. Kleinschmidt's *Geschichte von Arenberg, Salm, und Leyen, 1789-1815* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912, pp. xvi, 416); H. Dicke's *Die Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung im Fürstentum Salm, 1802-1810* (Hildesheim, Lax, 1912, pp. 166); and F. Vollheim's *Die Provisorische Verwaltung am Nieder- und Mittel-Rhein während der Jahre 1814-1816* (Bonn, Haustein, 1912, pp. iv, 256).

Professor Felix Salomon has published a second edition of *Die Deutschen Parteiprogramme* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. x, 147; vi, 178). The first part gives the texts of the party platforms or similar documents from 1845 to 1871, and the second part from 1871 to 1912. There is a brief bibliography of the history of German parties.

Joseph Baer and Company, of Frankfort on the Main, have recently issued a catalogue of the library of the late Dr. Heino Pfannenschmid of Colmar, which possesses a real value for the bibliography of Alsace.

The Verein für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen has published in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary Dr. Bertold Bretholz's *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens bis zum Aussterben des Premysliden, 1306* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). Rudolf Kötzschke has prepared for pedagogical use a small volume of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12.-14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. viii, 142).

Albert de Berzeviczy has completed a life of Beatrice of Aragon, the queen of Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, in two volumes, for the *Bibliothèque Hongroise* (Paris, Champion).

The Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs has published *Die Protokolle des Verfassungsausschlusses über die Grundrechte: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Reichstags vom Jahre 1848*, by Alfred Fischel (Vienna, Gerlach and Wiedling, 1912, pp. 203).

K. Meyer's *Blenio und Leventina, von Barbarossa bis Heinrich VII.: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Südschweiz im Mittelalter* (Lucerne, 1912, pp. xi, 284, mit 100 Beilagen) is a valuable study of the conditions in the canton of Ticino parallel to the Forest Cantons. Legal and economic as well as political matters are treated, and much new material is presented.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Krabbo, *Die Stadtgründungen der Markgrafen Johann I. und Otto III. von Brandenburg, 1220-1267* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); G. A. Kiesselbach, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Städtehanse* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); T. Mayer, *Zur Frage des Wiener Stapelrechtes* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 3); A. Hofmeister, *Zum Kronungsrecht des Mainzer Erzbischofs* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); J. Kolberg-Braunsberg, *Die Tätigkeit Johannes Dantiscus für das Herzogtum Preussen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg, 1530* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); W. Tuckermann, *Bedingt die Deutsch-Slawische Sprachgrenze eine Kultur-geographische Scheidung?* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1); E. Leupold, *Journal der Armee des Herzogs Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar aus den Jahren 1637 und 1638* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Band XI.); E. Salzer, *Ungedrucktes aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Gentz und Metternich in den Jahren 1803-1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, August, September); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Ernennung Blüchers zum Oberfeldherrn, 1815* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); R. T. House, *Graf von Achrenthal and the Rise of Austria* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); R. Thommen, *Bern, Unterwalden und die Reformation im Berner Oberland* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Band XI.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the July number of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, D. De Kok, O.F.M., begins a series of bibliographical and critical notes on Franciscan studies in Holland since 1894.

Mr. Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague has brought out the second volume of Professor Blok's *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad*, dealing with the history of Leyden under the Burgundian-Austrian dominion (pp. xii, 298); and *De Nederlandsche Hanzesteden tot het laatste Kwartaal der XIV^e Eeuw* (pp. xi, 326), by Dr. P. A. Meilink.

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXI. 1, contains an important general survey of the commerce, industry, and administration of the Austrian Netherlands, made for the Austrian government in 1728 by the Comte de Wynants.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Häpke, *Die neuere Litteratur zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Wollindustrie* (Vierteljahrschrift

für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1); F. Rachfahl, *Die Niederländische Verwaltung des 15.-16. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die Verwaltungsreformen Maximilians I. in Oesterreich und Deutschland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 3); C. Pergameni, *Un Projet inédit de Réorganisation Ecclésiastique aux Pays-Bas, à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle* (Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXI. 2).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Danmarks Riges Historie (Copenhagen, Gyldendal), a co-operative history of Denmark from the earliest times to 1864, written by such leading Danish scholars as Steenstrup, Erslev, Heise, Møllerup, Fridericia, Holm, Jørgenson, and Neergaard, the publication of which began some twelve years ago, has recently been completed. The work is in six volumes, well illustrated, and, though the work of scholars, is addressed to the general reading public. It is therefore without notes and other critical apparatus but is well indexed.

E. Holm has published the first volume of *Danmark-Norges Udenrigske Historie i Aarene 1800 til 1814* (Copenhagen, 1912, pp. 440).

A book throwing fresh light on Scandinavian history and political development from 1872 to 1884 is Professor Yngvar Nielsen's *Under Oscar 2's Regjering*.

Vol. II. of *A History of Russia*, by Professor V. O. Kliuchevsky, translated by C. U. Hogarth, covers the period from 1462 to 1610.

The fifth volume of *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, by P. Pierling, S.J., covers the reigns of Catherine II., Paul, and Alexander I. (Paris, Plon, 1912, pp. v, 475).

Le Fils de la Grande Catherine, Paul I^{er} Empereur de Russie: sa Vie, son Règne, et sa Mort, 1754-1801, by K. Waliszewski (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1912, pp. viii, 698) is a minute, brilliant, and conscientious study, like his preceding volumes.

The eleventh volume of the *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode, 1760-1856, extraits de ses Archives* (Paris, Lahure, 1912, pp. ii, 307), published by A. de Nesselrode, covers the last two years of the chancellor's life.

Alexander Popov, rector of the cathedral of Saint Andrew at Kronstadt, has published the second volume of *La Question des Lieux-Saints de Jérusalem dans la Correspondance Diplomatique Russe du XIX^e Siècle* (St. Petersburg, Kügelgen, 1911, pp. xxiii, 762). This volume contains 416 documents drawn from the state archives and deals with the important period from 1851 to 1853.

Fascicle I of the new series of the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* contains a most elaborate and learned cata-

logue (pp. 544) of eighteenth-century maps of Siberia, by M. Gaston Cahen.

The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent, by A. H. Lybyer, comes from the Harvard University Press.

Henri Guys has completed and published a *Bibliographie Albanaise, Description raisonnée des Ouvrages publiés en Albanais ou relatifs à l'Albanie du Quinzième Siècle à l'Année 1900*, which was mainly the work of Émile Legrand (Paris, Welter, 1912, pp. viii, 228). The bibliography includes 724 items. Publications later than 1900 are included in *Albanesische Bibliographie*, by Manek, Pekmezi and Stotz (Vienna, 1909). A. Fevret has begun the publication of an *Essai de Bibliographie pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, Leroux), which was originally planned by the late G. Auboyneau. In spite of certain faults, the work is bound to be of use as the first in its field.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

On November 13-16 a Conference on Recent Developments in China was held at Clark University, in which, beside many important addresses upon the recent Chinese revolution, upon various other aspects of progress in China, and upon China's relations with other nations, at least two important historical papers were read, one by the Honorable E. B. Drew, on Sir Robert Hart and his Life Work in China, and the other by Professor F. W. Williams, on the Manchu Dynasty.

One of the recent volumes of the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* is a well-written work on *China and the Manchus*, by Professor Herbert A. Giles.

Anson Burlingame and the first Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers by Professor Frederick Wells Williams (Scribner) is a study, based on first-hand materials, of an episode of high importance.

A history of recent events which seems an unusually accurate account related with great fairness is Percy Horace Kent's *The Passing of the Manchus*.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has had the aid of Professor Max Farrand during the months of October, November, and December, and for a month that of Professor Jesse S. Reeves, as Research Associates assisting in the preparations for the proposed Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. Upon occasion of the annual meeting of the trustees of the Institution the Department gave an exhibition of books, photographs, and diagrams illustrating the materials for American history in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Volume I. of Professor Andrews's

Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, has been issued. In one of the appendixes is a Key translating old references to volumes in the Public Record Office, Colonial Office series, into terms of the present classification; and this Key may be had by historical investigators as a separate pamphlet, upon application to the Department. Miss Frances Davenport has returned from Europe to Washington. In February Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University will go to Europe for the Department, to spend some months in the preparation of a Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of German Switzerland, Salzburg, and Austria. Delays respecting certain additions to Mr. Parker's Guide to the Canadian Archives have temporarily held it back from publication. More than half of the galley-proofs of Messrs. Paullin and Paxson's *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783* have been read; but a renumbering of F. O. volumes at the Public Office imposes further delay.

Messrs. Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History* now appears in a revised edition, edited by Professors Channing and Hart and Frederick J. Turner. The volume, still published by Ginn and Company, is especially enlarged in the sections relating to social, economic, and industrial history.

The Naval History Society was incorporated by act of Congress, August 21, 1912, and held its first annual meeting since incorporation in Washington on December 5. It is about to issue, as its third volume of publications, the *Despatches of Molyneux Shulldham*, vice-admiral of the blue and commander-in-chief of the naval forces in North America, January to July, 1776, edited by Mr. Robert W. Neeser, secretary of the organization. The fourth annual publication, announced for next year, will consist of the letter-books of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, to be edited by Dr. C. O. Paullin. The society has received, by gift from Colonel William C. Church, the papers and correspondence of John Ericsson, and has also received transcripts, from the Admiralty section of the Public Record Office, of all the out-letters relating to the fleets in North American waters commanded by Admirals Graves and Shulldham. These correspond to the in-letters for the same period possessed by the Library of Congress. The society has at present a membership of about 200. The officers elected for 1913 are as follows: president, Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis, U.S.N., vice-president, Herbert L. Satterlee, secretary-treasurer, Robert W. Neeser.

The papers of the *American Society of Church History*, second series, volume III. (Putnams, pp. 201), embrace the reports and papers of the annual meetings of 1910 and 1911, edited by Professor W. W. Rockwell, secretary of the society. The chief papers are those of Professor Edward T. Corwin on the ecclesiastical condition of New York at the opening of the eighteenth century, of Professor George W.

Richards on the Mercersburg theology, and of Professor Francis A. Christie on the beginnings of Arminianism in New England.

The American Antiquarian Society, whose published *Proceedings* extend in a notable series of pamphlets and volumes from 1849 to the present time, has signalized its one-hundredth anniversary by publishing in a large volume (pp. x, 582), under the title *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1812-1849*, the records of all its earlier meetings and so far as possible the reports of the librarian, of the council, and of many committees, together with a few early addresses delivered before the society. To the student of the development of historical studies in the United States the volume is of much interest and value. Particularly interesting are the reports of C. C. Baldwin and S. F. Haven as librarians.

The *Proceedings* of this society for its meeting of last April embraces a long history and list of the Massachusetts almanacs from 1639 to 1850, and a paper by Professor Hiram Bingham of Yale University, on Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital.

The same society on October 15 and 16 celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of its foundation with appropriate exercises, including an interesting review of the society's history by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, an historical address by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, and a dinner, at which the President of the United States, the British Ambassador, and other distinguished guests spoke effectively concerning the progress of the society and of historical studies in America.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in New York on February 11 and 12. The present corresponding secretary is Mr. Alfred N. Friedenberg, 13 Park Row, New York City.

The Library of Congress has acquired as a gift from Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a set of autographic documents of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and from Mr. Lewis H. Stanton a considerable body of papers of Edwin M. Stanton.

The American Catholic Historical Researches, the quarterly conducted by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, has been combined with the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*. The September issue of the *Records* contains an interesting series of letters written from Kentucky during the years 1801-1805, by Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin to Bishop Carroll. Father Badin, who was born in France, came to the United States in 1792 and went to Kentucky as a missionary in the following year.

Professor Albert B. Faust's *The German Element in the United States* has been issued by Messrs. B. G. Teubner of Leipzig in a German version, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten*.

The chapter in the volume for 1912 of *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* upon the recent historical productions of the United States, "Zur Litteratur über die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", is by Dr. Ernst Daenell. His estimates are comprehending and judicious.

During the last few years there have been emanating from the economic seminary of Johns Hopkins University valuable studies in the history and practices of trade unions in America. The latest of these to appear is *The Standard Rate in American Trade Unions* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXX., no. 2, pp. 251), by Dr. David A. McCabe. The study is based chiefly on material in trade union publications but is supplemented by personal interviews with trade union officials.

The Government of American Cities, by Professor William B. Munro of Harvard University (Macmillan, 1912, pp. 401) is a treatise of the highest competence and value, upon the powers and duties and administrative organs of American municipal corporations, but touches history only in so far, that a preliminary chapter of some twenty-eight pages is devoted to American municipal government. The need of a general history of municipal government still remains urgent.

Progress and Uniformity in Child-Labor Legislation: a Study in Statistical Measurement, by W. F. Ogburn, is brought out as one of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The Yale University Press has recently brought out the sixth volume of *Yale Biographies and Annals*, compiled by Professor F. B. Dexter.

A Senate resolution passed last August provided for the printing of a third volume of Mr. Kappler's compilation of *Laws and Treaties relating to Indian Affairs*, embracing such material as has accumulated since 1902.

No. 3 of the *Publications* of the Newberry Library of Chicago presents, under the title *Narratives of Captivity among the Indians of North America* (pp. 120), a list of the extraordinarily complete set of books and manuscripts on this subject in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, presented by that gentleman to the Newberry Library. The bibliography is a model of scrupulous care and of handsome typography.

Professor Eduard Meyer has written *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen, mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islams und des Christentums* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1912, pp. vi, 300). The volume is the result of a visit to Salt Lake City and a study of the Mormon faith made during his recent stay in America. To him Mormonism is of interest for the light it throws on the comparative study of religions, and especially for the comparison with the origin of Mohammedanism.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, the well-known archaeologist, at a recent meeting of the Hakluyt Society communicated a body of unpublished documents, 61 in all, discovered by her relating to Francis Drake's voyage along the Pacific coast in 1579. The collection, which is of the greatest importance, is to be printed as one of the volumes of the Hakluyt Society. Its nucleus was a group of manuscripts discovered in the Archivo General in Mexico, among papers relating to the Inquisition, being mainly declarations of a Portuguese pilot and other captives whom Drake put ashore at Guatulco. These depositions cast most interesting light upon Drake, his men, and his voyage, and in Mrs. Nuttall's view establish the fact of a license from Queen Elizabeth. She has completed the story by additional documents discovered in the archives of Washington, London, Simancas, Madrid, Seville, Florence, and Venice.

The second volume of the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot's *History of New France*, edited by Professor W. L. Grant, with the assistance of Mr. H. P. Biggar, contains the English version and the original French text of books III. and IV. The narrative begins with the voyages of Cartier and carries the story of Canadian exploration and settlement through the period of Champlain, de Monts, and Poutrincourt. The careful attention to the details of proof-reading and the verification of references maintains the high standard which the Society has set.

The whole period to the formation of the Constitution of 1787 is covered by a *Syllabus of American Colonial History* (Longmans, pp. x, 123), prepared by Professors W. T. Root of the University of Wisconsin and H. V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania.

Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims, two volumes of original narratives of voyages on the New England coast, 1600-1620, edited by Charles H. Levermore, is announced by Ginn and Company.

The author of *The Romantic Story of the Mayflower Pilgrims*, A. C. Addison, has produced a companion volume, which bears the title *The Romantic Story of the Puritan Fathers and their Founding of New Boston and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, together with some Account of the Conditions which led to their Departure from Old Boston and the neighboring Towns in England*. The book contains numerous illustrations (L. C. Page and Company).

The purpose of Mr. William S. McClellan, in a book on *Smuggling in the American Colonies* just published by Moffat, Yard, and Company, is to set forth the part which smuggling, especially in connection with the West India trade, played in developing the economic and political elements of the spirit of American independence.

Volume XVII. of the *Harvard University Studies* will consist of the unofficial and intimate letters which passed between Sir Francis Ber-

nard, governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, and his friend and political backer in England, Lord Barrington, cousin of Bernard's wife. An appendix contains other original papers throwing light on the same general theme.

"The Life and surprising Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist, and his strange Connection with the Penobscot Expedition of 1779", by Samuel Francis Batchelder, is reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Historical Society. The story of Nutting's chequered career is told in an interesting manner and is built up out of many and widely scattered materials. His history involves some episodes of the Revolution of more than passing importance.

In a paper entitled "The Legendary and Myth Making Process in Histories of the American Revolution", reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, vol. II., no. 254, Mr. Sydney G. Fisher finds that the real facts of the American Revolution have been largely disregarded and even suppressed by our principal historians of the Revolution, and discusses the reasons therefor.

The Library of Congress has published volume XIX. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1912, pp. xi, 436), covering the period from January 1 to April 23, 1781.

The Real Authorship of the Constitution of the United States Explained (62 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Doc. no. 787) is a pamphlet of 87 quarto pages, in which an indulgent government permits Mr. Hannis Taylor to set forth once more his now familiar thesis that the real author of that revered document (as if the Constitution could have had a "real author") was Pelatiah Webster. In form the pamphlet is a reply to Mr. Gaillard Hunt's *Nation* article, which some member has also caused to be reprinted in a Congressional document. Such issuing of controversial historical pamphlets as public documents is an unfitting method of procedure, and much to be deplored.

The General Land Office of the Department of the Interior has put forth in a small pamphlet with several maps *An Historical Sketch of "Louisiana" and the Louisiana Purchase*, by Mr. Frank Bond, chief clerk of the General Land Office.

The Macmillan Company announces the first volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Mr. W. C. Ford, which will unquestionably be one of the most interesting and valuable historical publications of the next few years. It will include personal letters, communications to officials of the government, and various articles and addresses.

Professor W. S. Robertson's paper, Europe and Spanish America in 1822-1824, read at the Buffalo meeting of the American Historical Association, has been printed in the November issue of the *American Political Science Review* under the title The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-1824.

Moffat, Yard, and Company have brought out in their *American History in Literature* series *Noted Speeches of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun*, edited, with biographical sketches, by Lilian M. Briggs.

In a paper entitled "The Railroads of the 'Old Northwest' before the Civil War", reprinted from vol. XVII., pt. 1, of the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Professor Frederic L. Paxson presents the results of investigations made at the University of Wisconsin. A series of maps has been constructed showing the annual railroad construction in the "Old Northwest" from 1850 to 1860.

In the preparation of his life of Lincoln, in collaboration with John Hay, John G. Nicolay gathered a great deal of material upon the personal characteristics and every day life of Lincoln which was not used in that work. This material has been used by his daughter, Miss Helen Nicolay, in the construction of a volume, which the Century Company has published with the title *Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln*.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have published *Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his youngest Sister*, edited by his nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer.

Mr. George G. Meade of Philadelphia, grandson of the general of that name, expects to bring out in March a volume of the general's letters, covering his entire military career but having special value for the campaigns of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. The letters are mostly addressed to the writer's wife, an experienced army woman, to whom he wrote with freedom upon all military events. The book will be published by Scribner.

General Jubal A. Early: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War between the States, with introductory notes by R. H. Early, comes from the press of J. B. Lippincott and Company.

Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion, edited by A. Noel Blakeman and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, is a collection of addresses delivered before the New York commandery of the Loyal Legion.

The Neale Publishing Company have added to their series of books relating to the Civil War *Antietam and the Maryland and Virginia Campaigns of 1862*, by Isaac W. Heysinger, a participant in both campaigns; *The Attack and Defense of Little Round Top, Gettysburg, July 2, 1863*, by O. W. Norton; *The Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army*, by Randolph H. McKim; *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, by J. H. Worsham; and *Fighting by Southern Federals*, by C. C. Anderson.

It is announced that the papers of General Morris Schaff which have been running serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the general title

The Sunset of the Confederacy, will be published in book form by John W. Luce and Company.

General James H. Wilson's *Under the Old Flag: Recollections of Military Operations in the War for the Union, the Spanish War, the Boxer Rebellion*, recently published in two volumes by D. Appleton and Company, has already attracted considerable attention by its frank expressions concerning men and campaigns.

Readers of Edward Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, which closed with the year 1896, will welcome the continuation of the author's studies as presented in *A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909* (Houghton Mifflin Company).

It is understood that the *Autobiography* of Senator Robert M. LaFollette will shortly be issued by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

A History of the Town of Bowdoinham, 1762-1912, by Silas Adams, has been brought out in Fairfield, Maine, by the Fairfield Publishing Company.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has issued a sumptuous volume descriptive of the *Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society*. The beautiful new home of the society, the generous gift of Mr. Edward Tuck, was dedicated on November 23, 1911, with elaborate ceremonies and addresses. The building is described and illustrated in the volume, and the addresses are given in full. There are also numerous portraits, including those of Mr. and Mrs. Tuck. Among the addresses delivered are those of Dr. William J. Tucker, Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, and Mr. Frank B. Sanborn.

Mr. J. F. Colby has brought out a revised edition of the *Manual of the Constitution of the State of New Hampshire*. The manual includes the constitution as it now stands, together with all the constitutions and amendments proposed as well as adopted, from 1783 to the present time. There is also much other material relating to the constitutional history of the state.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has just brought out, in two large volumes, its definitive edition of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by Mr. W. C. Ford. The typography, illustrations, and general carefulness of execution make a strong impression at first glance; review of the work must be deferred until a later number. The society has also issued volume XLV. of its *Proceedings* (pp. xvi, 693), covering the meetings from October, 1911, to June, 1912. A volume of *Collections*, embracing papers of the Commissioners of the Customs and other documents exhibiting the customs administration in the British

colonies in America, is in course of preparation by Mr. Ford and Professor Edward Channing.

Merchant Venturers of Old Salem, by Robert E. Peabody, is a recent publication of Houghton Mifflin Company. Old letters and log-books form a prominent part of the volume.

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is printed the journal of Lieutenant Daniel Giddings of Ipswich during the expedition against Cape Breton in 1744-1745.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out an elaborate work on *The Hoosac Valley: its Legends and its History*, by Grace Greylock Niles. The work is profusely illustrated.

A history of the northern section of Greater New York, bearing the title *The Story of the Bronx from the Purchase made by the Dutch from the Indians in 1639 to the present Day*, has been brought out by Putnam. The author is Mr. Stephen Jenkins.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have published *Pioneer Irish of Onondaga, about 1776-1847*, by Theresa Bannan, M.D.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has made a very important acquisition of papers of General Anthony Wayne, about 1100 in number, embracing letters, orders, etc., connected with his expedition against the Indians of the West; an assortment of letters of Generals Thompson and Armstrong, and various officials of the Pennsylvania Line; papers of the Comfort family of Bucks County; the original manuscript of John Woolman's Journal, and his day-book; and a number of documents relative to Bishop William White.

Professor E. R. Turner contributes to the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* a paper on the Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania, and Vice-Chancellor Edwin R. Walker gives an historical account of the old barracks at Trenton, New Jersey. With a brief foreword, under the caption "The Mother of 'Mary, the Mother of Washington'", Mr. Charles H. Browning contributes a copy of the will (recently discovered) of Washington's grandmother. "Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Madrid, Tennessee, 1790", contributed by John W. Jordan from the papers of the firm of Reed and Forde of Philadelphia, recently acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is of interest for its description of the difficulties of navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi; and five letters from the same source, written in 1778 and 1779, touch upon conditions at Valley Forge and in Boston. William Logan's journal of a journey to Georgia, 1745, is concluded, and the orderly book of the second Pennsylvania Continental Line (Valley Forge, March 29-May 27, 1778) is continued.

The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and its Neighborhood, promised some time ago by J. B. Lippincott and Company, has now come from the press. The authors are H. D. Eberlein and H. M. Lippincott.

In volume XV. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (pp. 368) much the largest element is Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster's *Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West*, a well documented narrative; the volume also contains a sketch of the history of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, by President E. M. Gallaudet, and an article on the development of the Catholic Church in the District of Columbia, by Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing.

Among the numerous documents in the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* the following are of interest: the commission (1714) of the Earl of Orkney for the government of Virginia (from the Randolph Manuscript); a circular letter accompanied by a series of "enquiries" to Governor Berkeley in 1676; a paper describing conditions in Virginia in 1676; agreement between Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina for a cessation of tobacco planting, 1665; a portrait of Colonel Daniel Parke and some account (chiefly documentary) of his career; and an interesting and valuable series of letters from and to George Hume, formerly of Wedderburn, Scotland, who settled in Virginia in 1721. The letters begin as early as 1723 but were written mainly in the forties and fifties.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints several letters of historical value. A letter of Major Charles Yancey to James Barbour, February 9, 1820, relates to the Missouri Compromise; one from John C. Calhoun to T. W. Gilmer and others, June 15, 1834, is concerned with "executive encroachments"; one from R. M. T. Hunter to T. W. Gilmer, September 18, 1837, deals with the currency question; and one from General James Hamilton to T. W. Gilmer is in regard to a Texan loan. There is also a letter from George R. Gilmer to T. W. Gilmer, April 9, 1842. The *Quarterly* prints also some abstracts of letters (1769-1770) from the letter-book of Thomas Jett, and some letters (1739-1740) from the letter-book of Richard Chapman. These letters relate principally to business affairs. Among "Some Extracts from Northumberland County Records" is given the will of the grandmother of George Washington. This will is also printed, as has been noted, in the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

The College of Hampden-Sidney: Calendar of Board Minutes, 1776-1876 (pp. 186), edited, with extensive notes, by Alfred J. Morrison, affords a valuable insight into the legislative history of the institution through a century of its existence and, through the editor's notes, something of its biographical history. Such a volume is also of great value for the study of the history of education during the period. A list is given of the one hundred and fifty-six trustees of the college appointed within the period and portraits of thirty of them are distributed through the volume.

Under the somewhat misleading title *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (pp. 623), Miss Mary S. Lockwood of Washington has published the first of three volumes of a series of abstracts from the records of this extensive and important county selected by Judge Lyman Chalkley. The abstracts are made somewhat casually; while they include many matters of local historical interest, derived from the order books of the county court, their chief use is as the raw material of genealogy.

Recent Administration in Virginia, by F. A. Magruder, is a Johns Hopkins University doctoral dissertation, and its purpose is to study the expansion of the administrative functions of the state under the constitution of 1902 in contrast with the administration of the preceding period, under the constitution of 1869. The enlargement of state activities is especially manifest in the domains of public education, the electorate and elections, charities and corrections, public health, agriculture, and finances. In some of these matters a tendency to enlargement is more noticeable than the accomplished fact.

Mr. J. W. Wayland has brought out through Ruebush-Elkins Company of Dayton, Virginia, *A History of Rockingham County, Virginia*.

Volume II., no. 2, of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* includes a paper on the North Carolina Constitution of 1776 and its Makers, by Frank Nash, and one on the German Settlers in Lincoln County and Western North Carolina, by Joseph R. Nixon. The latter article describes in an interesting manner some characteristics of these German settlers and adds some biographical material concerning members of the Ramsour family.

What was formerly *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers*, brought out by the Historical Society of Trinity College under the supervision of the Department of History, now becomes *Historical Papers*, published by the Trinity College Historical Society and the North Carolina Conference Historical Society. Series IX., just issued, comprises a group of papers which are instructive in the early history of Methodism in North Carolina. They are: *The Reids; Eminent Itinerants through Three Generations*, by Rev. N. H. D. Wilson; *Some First Things in North Carolina Methodism*, by Rev. W. L. Grissom; *Peter Doub: Itinerant of Heroic Days*, by Rev. M. T. Plyler; *Methodism in the Albemarle Section*, by L. L. Smith; and a *Journal and Travel of James Meacham*, pt. 1, May 19-August 31, 1789. These papers cast light upon religious conditions in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In a volume entitled *Stories of the Confederacy*, edited by U. R. Brooks (Columbia, the State Company), are found letters and other documents pertaining principally to officers and troops of South Carolina. The book includes (pp. 67-218) "Sketches of Hampton's Cavalry", a reprint of a pamphlet published in 1864.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October contains an interesting paper by Judge A. W. Terrell, in which he relates his recollections of General Sam Houston. The writer does not, however, limit himself to his recollections. A first paper on the "Retreat of the Spaniard from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso" is contributed by Charles W. Hackett, Repudiation of State Debt in Texas since 1861, by E. T. Miller, and the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams, is continued.

In the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October, under the caption Old Fort Sandoski and the De Lery Portage, Lucy Elliot Keeler gives an account of the exercises at the unveiling of monuments erected on the sites of Old Fort Sandoski and the point where General William Henry Harrison embarked for the conquest of Canada in 1813; Rev. E. E. Williams gives a history of the affair known as the "Copus Battle" (September 15, 1812); Mr. Osman C. Hooper describes at some length the Ohio-Columbus centennial August 26-September 1, 1912; and Mr. George D. Kratz contributes some documents on the War of 1812, principally relative to the siege of Fort Meigs. There is also an interesting statement by Benjamin Seth Youngs, August 31, 1810, concerning an expedition against the Shakers.

The issue for June and September of the *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains a brief though valuable account by Henry N. Sherwood, of the movement in Ohio to deport the negro, together with reprints of two pamphlets upon negro colonization: *A brief Exposition of the Views of the Society for the Colonization of Free Persons of Colour, in Africa* (Columbus, 1827), addressed to the citizens of Ohio, and *Ohio in Africa*, a memorial to the Ohio legislature, dated January 8, 1851.

Mr. Logan Esarey's monograph on *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. V., no. 2, pp. 112) not only presents an interesting and important phase of Indiana history but is valuable material for the study of the subject on the national scale. Beginning with a description of economic conditions about 1816, the author recounts the early, rather unsystematic, attempts to build transportation routes (1816-1827), both roads and canals, the launching of a larger system of internal improvements (1827-1840), and the ultimate collapse, due to overestimate of the state's financial capacity, inexperience of the pioneers, and gross dishonesty on the part of officials and promoters. A fuller analysis of the influence of railroad building would have helped to clarify the subject.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for September contains a sketch, by Louise Maxwell, of Dr. David H. Maxwell, surgeon in the War of 1812, member of the constitutional convention of 1816, and otherwise prominent in the early history of Indiana, and a brief paper

on Indiana geographical nomenclature by J. P. Dunn. In the department of reprints are the third installment from Professor A. C. Shortridge's *Schools of Indianapolis* and *Early Times in Indianapolis*, by Mrs. Julia Merrill Moores. Another group of papers is concerned with Indian affairs: General Richard C. Drum gives his reminiscences of the Indian fight at Ash Hollow, 1855; Mr. Robert Harvey describes the battle-ground of Ash Hollow; and Mr. James Mooney gives an account of the Indian ghost dance. There is also an account left by the Rev. John Dunbar of missionary life (about 1834) among the Pawnees.

The Story of Indiana and its People, by R. J. and Max Ale, is published in Chicago by O. P. Barnes.

Noteworthy among the papers in volume XXXVIII. of the *Collections and Researches* made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society are: the Boundary Lines of the United States under the Treaty of 1782, by Clarence M. Burton; the Gateways of the Old Northwest, by Frederic L. Paxson; Unexplored Fields of American History, by Claude H. Van Tyne; the Dutch Pioneers of Michigan, by Martin L. D'Ooge; History of Fort Malden or Fort Amherstburg, by Francis Cleary; French and Indian Footprints at Three Rivers on the St. Joseph, by Blanche M. Haines; and an Introduction to the Settlement of Southern Michigan from 1815 to 1855, by George N. Fuller.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has just added to the Burton library a great number of manuscripts collected by Solomon Sibley during his long life in Detroit. He came to Detroit in 1797 and occupied many public positions. The papers extend from 1780 to 1846, including, besides much civil correspondence, a German journal kept by the Moravian ministers at Mt. Clemens and elsewhere.

The Minnesota Historical Society has published, as volume XIV. of its *Collections*, a book of *Minnesota Biographies*, 1655-1912 (pp. xxviii, 892) compiled by Dr. Warren Upham, secretary and librarian of the society, and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap. The book embraces some 9000 sketches, mostly of less than ten lines, derived from a great variety of printed and manuscript sources, and provided with references and numbers which direct the reader to the ampler biographies from which the compilation was effected. The scope of the work includes early explorers, fur traders, missionaries, and noteworthy aborigines, as well as more modern persons conspicuous in territory or state.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October Mr. Louis B. Schmidt sketches the history of Congressional elections in Iowa, 1846-1848, prefaced by some account of the territorial elections. In the same issue of the *Journal* Mr. Thomas Teakle presents an extended discussion of the Rendition of Barclay Coppoc, a member of the John Brown party at Harper's Ferry, who escaped to his home in Iowa. The article is devoted principally to an account of the political contro-

versy which the honoring of the requisition stirred up in Iowa and to a discussion of the legal and constitutional aspects of the case.

In the January-April issue (double number) of the *Annals* of Iowa Dr. Charles R. Keyes tells the story of the Earliest Explorations of Iowa-Land, Mr. C. H. Hanford writes of Pioneers of Iowa and of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. E. H. Stiles presents sketches of George G. Wright and Joseph C. Knapp, prominent men of early Iowa, and Mr. C. C. Stiles continues his articles on the public archives of Iowa. The *Annals* reprints, under the title "An Expedition across Iowa in 1820", the journal of Stephen Watts Kearny which appeared in the *Collections* of the Missouri Historical Society for 1908. The index (pp. 225) to the *Annals*, vols. I. to VIII., 1893-1909, has been issued.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has inaugurated the publication of a series of papers under the title of *Applied History*, edited by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh. In the opening number of the series Professor Shambaugh explains the scope and purpose of the undertaking. In his view applied history is "the use of the scientific knowledge of history and experience in efforts to solve present problems of human betterment". The past is viewed as a vast "social laboratory" in which "the conditions are *real* conditions, the factors are *real* men and women, and the varied relations and combinations or conditions and factors are always those of *real* life". Some of the papers in the first volume of the series are: Road Legislation in Iowa, by John E. Brindley; Regulation of Urban Utilities in Iowa, by E. H. Downey; Primary Elections in Iowa, by F. E. Horack; Corrupt Practices Legislation in Iowa, by H. J. Peterson; and Taxation in Iowa, by J. E. Brindley.

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include an account, by J. F. Snyder, of the capture of Lexington, Missouri, an address on General J. O. Shelby, by W. P. Borland, and an article on the Province of Historical Societies, by H. E. Robinson.

Volume IV. of the *Publications* of the Arkansas Historical Association will shortly come from the press. It includes the official correspondence of Governor James S. Conway, the correspondence of the adjutant-general during the Brooks-Baxter War, the correspondence of David O. Dodd, and the history of the constitutional convention of 1874, prepared by J. W. House.

The Macmillan Company have brought out *The Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, by Katharine Coman. The work is in two volumes and is illustrated with numerous maps and half-tone plates.

Volume XIII. of the *Collections* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, which is volume III. of the *Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of Nebraska*, will be issued in January.

The *Collections* (formerly called *Transactions*) of the Kansas State Historical Society for 1911-1912, edited by George W. Martin, is a

closely printed volume of about 600 pages, made up principally of articles relating to Kansas. Only a few of the more extended articles can here be mentioned: Some Western Border Conditions in the Fifties and Sixties, by A. B. Whiting; the Service of the Army in Civil Life after the War, by W. A. Calderhead; the West: its Place in American History, by J. L. Webster; the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Kansas, 1854 to 1906, by Rev. Joab Spencer; Life among the Delaware Indians, by Miss Clara Gowing; a Study of the Route of Coronado between the Rio Grande and Missouri Rivers, by J. N. Baskett; With Albert Sidney Johnston's Expedition to Utah, 1857, by General S. W. Ferguson; Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859, by J. B. Thoburn; Reminiscences concerning Fort Leavenworth in 1855-1856, by E. T. Carr. There is also an extensive account of "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas", and a long list of extinct geographical locations in Kansas.

The Torch press has brought out *A Concise History of New Mexico*, by L. B. Prince.

The *Twenty-eighth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology will contain two papers by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, both reporting researches in Arizona, the first entitled "Casa Grande", the other "Antiquities of the Upper Verde River and Walnut Creek".

A Northwestern Association of Teachers of History, Government, and Economics has been organized, to embrace members of the profession in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly*, publication of which was suspended between October, 1908, and April, 1912, reappears improved in form and in the character of its contents. It is now published by the State Historical Society at Seattle. To the July number Mr. James C. Strong contributes some Reminiscences of a Pioneer of the Territory of Washington, Mr. Sol H. Lewis a History of the Railroads in Washington, and Mr. T. C. Elliot the journal of John Work, November and December, 1824, for which he writes an introduction. Work was a member of an expedition sent out by Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to ascertain the possibility of reaching the coast with boats by way of Fraser's River and to explore as far as practicable the coast between Fort George and Fraser's River. A document of similar character is the journal of William Fraser Tolmie, April 30 to May 11, 1833, pertaining chiefly to a voyage from Cape Disappointment to Fort Vancouver. The October number contains a narrative, by Frank H. Woody, of a journey on horseback from Missoula to Walla Walla in 1857, and an article on the Whitman controversy, by James C. Strong. The *Quarterly* is reprinting the *History of Oregon, Geographical and Political* (1845), by George Wilkes.

The Philippines Past and Present, by Eleanor F. Egan, is announced by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission of the Dominion of Canada has been reorganized, Hon. Thomas Chapais taking the place of Dr. J. E. Roy, and additional members being appointed as follows: Sir Edmund Walker, Mr. R. E. Gosnell of British Columbia, Professor Chester Martin of Winnipeg, Archdeacon William O. Raymond of St. John, Archdeacon Armitage of Halifax, and Professor W. L. Grant of Queen's University. A Royal Commission of three, to investigate the various departmental records, their condition, safety, bulk, etc., has been appointed with large powers. Its investigations seem likely to result in a turning over of much additional material to the Dominion Archives.

In the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, vol. V., Mgr. L.-A. Paquet has an historical article on tithes, and M. Benjamin Sulte one of greater extent upon the projects and conspiracies which marked the relations between Canada and Vermont and other parts of New England from 1793 to 1810, and another entitled "Les Coureurs de Bois au Lac Supérieur, 1660". In the English portion of the volume the most notable articles are one by Archdeacon W. O. Raymond, on Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia; one by Dr. Hervey M. Bowman, on the Origin and Treatment of Discrepancies in Trust-worthy Records; and one by Dr. L. D. Scisco, on Lescarbot's Baron de Lery; while Mr. Duncan C. Scott presents the Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations, as prepared some years ago by a committee of the present chiefs of those nations.

The first and second parts of *L'Eglise du Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*, by Abbé Auguste Gosselin of the Royal Society of Canada, have appeared, dealing with Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, Mgr. de Mornay, Mgr. Dosquet, and Mgr. de Lauberivière.

Dr. Arthur G. Doughty and Professor Adam Shortt are about to issue (London and New York, Macmillan) the *Correspondence between Lord Elgin and Lord Grey on the Affairs of Canada*.

Fascicle 4 of the new series of the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* contains an account by Maurice de Périgny of his exploration in 1909 of the ruins of an important Maya city at Nakun in British Honduras, and one by Captain Paul Berthon of his archaeological investigations in lower Peru.

Messrs. Smith and Elder will soon publish Sir Clements R. Markham's *The Conquest of New Granada*, a description of the civilization of the Chibches.

The history of the diplomatic relations of Brazil from the founding of the republic in 1889 has been written by A. G. de Arango Jorge. The first volume of these *Ensaio de Historia Diplomatica do Brasil no Regimen Republicano* extends to 1902.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. de La Roncière, *Notre Première Tentative de Colonisation au Canada* [Cartier, 1541] (Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, May); H. ten Kate, *On Paintings of North American Indians and their Ethnographical Value* (Anthropos, VI.); G. Hanotaux, *North America and France* (North American Review, November); H. P. Ford, *A Revolutionary Hero: James Caldwell* (Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, September); W. R. Riddell, *An Early German Traveller in the United States and Canada* (Queen's Quarterly, October, November, December); J. Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*, II., III., IV. (Scribner's Magazine, October-December); C. Warren, *An Historical Note on the Dartmouth College Case* (American Law Review, September-October); G. A. King, *The French Spoliation Claims*, III. (American Journal of International Law, October); F. L. Nussbaum, *The Compromise Tariff of 1833: a Study in Practical Politics* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); J. L. Morison, *Lord Elgin in Canada, 1847-1854* (Scottish Historical Review, October); Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *War-Time Letters of Charles Eliot Norton to George William Curtis* (Atlantic Monthly, November); J. G. de R. Hamilton, *The Union League in North Carolina* (Sewanee Review, October); Gen. N. A. Miles, *My Recollections of Antietam* (Cosmopolitan, October); G. Bradford, *Confederate Portraits*, I. *Joseph E. Johnston* (Atlantic Monthly, November); *The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*: H. G. Otis, *The Causes of Impeachment*; J. B. Henderson, *Emancipation and Impeachment* (Century Magazine, December); H. Watterson, *The Humor and Tragedy of the Greeley Campaign* (*ibid.*, November); H. C. Lodge, *Some Early Memories*, II., III. (Scribner's Magazine, October, November); Admiral G. Dewey, *Autobiography* (Hearst's Magazine, October, November, December); Rear-Admiral A. T. Mahan, *Was Panama "a Chapter of National Dishonor"?* (North American Review, October).

ERRATUM

DIARY OF THOMAS EWING

By error on the part of the managing editor, in the introduction to the Diary of Thomas Ewing printed in the last number of this Journal, page 97, the statement is made that the copy of the diary by means of which we were enabled to print it "is possessed by the Library of Ohio University at Marietta". The fact of course is that the Ohio University, the oldest college in the old Northwest, is situated at Athens, Ohio, where it was placed by Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam in 1798, and not at Marietta.

